



# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 48.]

AUGUST 1947

[No. 8.]

## PEACE AND WAR

BY

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"God and the soldier we adore  
In time of danger, not before;  
The danger passed and all things righted,  
God is forgotten and the soldier slighted."

SO sang the poet. Let us consider some aspects of this matter. Maukind, as Prof. A. I. Toynbee has pointed out, has been venturing up a steep cliff for about 300,000 years. Primitive man only reached the level of civilization about 6,000 years ago. Some fossilised primitive societies, such as the Veddahs of Ceylon or the Kerriera of Australia or the American Indian tribes, exist to show up characteristics of uncivilized man. Within the last six thousand years of discernible history Toynbee has distinguished 26 civilizations that have attempted to clamber up from the lowest ledge of civilized life. The summit of the cliff is wrapped in clouds and the vision ahead is not very clear. The climbers do not know where the next ledge exists up on the cliff where on they could rest. Myriads of men have fallen to death down the precipitous slope during the climb. Of the 26 civilizations there are only five active survivors: (1) Far Eastern or Chinese, (2) Hindu (3) Islamic (4) Orthodox Christian or Russian and (5) Western. The three arrested civilizations of the Eskimo, Polynesians and Nomads still live precariously at rest on the low ledge attained in prehistoric time. Organized War has been a feature of civilization; it has been a disease of civilization playing its part in the machinery of evolution.

Just as the bees of a hive co-operate with one another but instinctively resent the intrusion into their hive of bees from another hive or other pests, even so primitive tribes did not welcome the entry of strangers without permission. Research has shown that each tribe had its own clearly known exclusive territory and sometimes in nomadic regions also a common grazing ground. The members of a tribe were bound to one another by the bonds of mutual love and fellowship as well as by a hatred and fear of strangers. Dr. C. B. Carpenter of Columbia University has found similar characteristics prevalent among the higher apes and "howling monkeys". These characteristics preserved the tribal unit. Fear of tribal extermination was the greatest dread of the tribal mind and led individuals to sacrifice their lives readily to preserve their tribe. The enmity-complex displayed toward neighbouring tribes was rooted in the instinct of fear which was a protective mechanism manifested in a child before the end of his third month. The dual code of conduct prevailed; the ethical one of love and mutual co-operation within the unit or tribe and the other barbaric code between the rival units. The higher animals and primitive man found both codes necessary for their survival in the struggle for existence.

Both the ethical and the barbaric codes operate in the civilized world. In war the rival nations display the barbaric code



in their relations with the enemy, and the ethical code within the members of each side. Individuals of a nation who feel the two codes inconsistent and endeavour to govern all their actions by the ethical code, find themselves persecuted as conscientious objectors. The religious attitude to War is not free from ambiguity. Even within the Christian Church of England leaders such as Archbishop William Temple and Canon Charles Raven took different views. The Christian Doctrine in the Sermon on the Mount of "Love your enemies" apparently can be interpreted differently. The Hindu view approving right action in War is given in the Bhagavad-Gita.

The Confucian view is to requite evil with justice. The inherited tribal mentality shows itself in many ways even within a nation as for instance in caste or in Britain in its political parties, trade unions, religious sects, public schools and universities, and in sport. (Prof. Morris Ginsberg has found that in English Society the traffic on the social ladder between classes affected only about five per cent of the population)

Man's "enmity complex" associated with the kindred passions of avarice, jealousy and ambition was the executor of the barbaric code actuating War. The tribes were welded into nations by War, as shown by the history of most countries. For instance Germany during the time of Julius Caesar had scores of barbarous tribes living each in its own domain. Subsequently by War these tribes were welded into states. Then the Emperor Frederick and the Prussian Minister Bismarck by fear and force of War unified the states into the German Empire.

As long as armed might preserved the integrity of the tribe or nation, it kept its useful bounds by helping that unit in its self determination. But when military power over-stepped these bounds, the nations were often in the long run losers. An example may be helpful.

Jenghiz Khan\* after a brief period in exile in his 'teens on the death of his father Yesukai, the chief of a Mongol tribe near the Amur river, managed to regain the chieftaincy. Though illiterate, he could read the minds of men at sight. In his lust for power he used fear and force to bring under his sway about 226 tribes and to be hailed in the year 1206 as the Khan of Khans of Mongolia. But his lust for power was not so easily satisfied. So in 1211 Jenghiz Khan led 100,000 mounted men to add North China to his dominions. Then again in 1218 A.D. in his 56th year he led a quarter million trained men across 2000 miles of steppe country to destroy the might of the Kharizman Empire and to extend his sway from the Indus in the east to the Dnieper in the west. In each district or city he offered its citizens instant submission or certain death. The citizens of Herat showed a rebellious disposition. He had them exterminated. He died in his 65th year in the midst of a Campaign into South China. The dynasty founded by one of his sons in China ended in 1368. The tribal army led by another son to conquer Russia settled along the Volga to form the nucleus of the "Golden Horde" which by 1502 had disappeared in the Slav population. The Central Asiatic Empire inherited by his third son broke up ending in 1359 the Jenghiz dynasty. Jenghiz's own tribe which was the heirloom of his fourth son did not maintain its independence long, since in 1888 China broke that tribal cradle up. Years after this downfall the Mongol tribe took Buddhism to heart and the sons of warriors became priests—an emotional manifestation not rare in defeated people. Their warlike qualities are not replaced but perhaps merely masked. Another example is that of Timur Lenk or Tamerlane (1334 to 1405 A.D.) the son of a Mongol chief who squandered the slender resources of the

\* Arthur Keith's *Essays on Human Evolution* page 167.

Transoxanian Emirate (of which he became Emir when 35 years old) by attempts to satisfy his vain lust for power by expeditions into Iran, Iraq, Syria, Anatolia and India in the last 24 years of his life. He used fear and force. He built 2000 prisoners into a living mound and covered them over by bricks at Saazawar and also piled 500 human heads into minarets at Zirih in 1383; massacred 70,000 people and piled all the heads of the slain into minarets at Isfahan in 1387, slaughtered 100 000 prisoners at Delhi in 1398; buried alive 4000 Christian soldiers of the garrison of Sivas after their capitulation in 1400; and built twenty towers of skulls in Syria in 1400 and 1401. "Timur's self-stultification is a supreme example of the suicidalness of militarism. His empire not only did not survive him but was devoid of all after-effects of a positive kind." Its after effect was negative in creating a social and political vacuum in South-West Asia which eventually drew the Osmanlis and Safawis into a collision that dealt the stricken Iranic society its death-blow. Timur is not remembered for his good work in the first 19 years of his reign as Warden of the Marches warding off the Nomads of the Steppes but for his cruel achievements in suicidal attacks within Iranian society instead of driving against its assailants the Nomads. Further illustrations of the suicidalness of militarism may be read in A. J. Toynbee's Abridged Study of History pages 336 to 349. The fate of the militarist is that of Goliath in the Biblical tale. Pride leads to provocative behaviour which culminates in disaster. The Philistine champion, proud in his own strength and ability, neglects to consider the possible improved technique, and the consequent end of his insolent challenging conduct was death by thoughtful David's superior methods.

Adler has pointed out that primitive man's biological inheritance, inferior in

"A. J. Toynbee's Abridged Study of History page 347,

naked striking power in single life, had evolved a "will to power" which was a fundamental drive in human life. Jung has shown that the biological relationship between the unconscious mental processes and conscious mental activity was of a compensatory character and further that the psychopathology of the masses was rooted in the psychology of the individual. The leader is a individual who can turn over to the masses his individual attitude towards life, and in turn enable them to adapt their thinking along his lines of guidance. Jenghiz Khan, Tamerlane and in modern times Adolf Hitler and their tribes exemplify this. The stirring part played by the emotions can be seen in the communal frenzy displayed by the crowd at a thrilling football or boxing match or by the military forces in active war. Modern propaganda in War-time often aimed at creating such emotional frenzy by publishing atrocity-stories true and often quite false or exaggerated, in order to enable its soldiers and airmen to butcher the enemy men, women and helpless children willingly. The barbaric code prevails during War-time. "All is fair in love and war" seemed to be the motto that actuated most military powers causing the slaughter of defenceless prisoners and the destruction of villages or towns with their defenceless inhabitants as at Herat, Lidice, or Hiroshima. Any expression of doubt as to the truth of any false propaganda was usually considered as seditious aid to the enemy and often punished. Lying, theft, robbery, murder as long as they were directed against the enemy, particularly in the occupied areas, were considered virtuous acts. Individuals trained in the barbaric code for a long period often carried on that code into peace time, as the rise in crime statistics after a War partly indicated, especially in enemy-occupied countries such as France, Tribes or Nations that geared themselves completely for war usually followed the same fate as ancient Sparta or modern Nazi Germany. "Those who

live by the sword perish by the sword."

Nevertheless War is an important part of the machinery of Evolution. The tribe or nation which allows the proportion of idiots and feeble-minded in its population to increase sooner or later succumbs in the struggle for existence with rival units. Civilizations have grown as successful responses to challenges; and they have decayed when no longer able to overcome the new challenges facing them. Toynbee has shown that the usual course is for a dominant minority to be creative and have the enthusiastic support of the subservient majority in its successful responses to challenges to their unit. Later when the dominant minority have ceased to be creative and to carry the majority willingly with them, it tried to dominate the growingly antagonistic majority, by fear or craft. When the dominant minority failed to respond successfully to the attacks by the subservient majority within and by the barbarians without, that state ceased to be independent and to be master of its fate. The usual form of attack is War. Useful characteristics developed in War. Good fellowships, mutual co-operation, esprit-de-corps, physical skill and endurance, and high intellectual achievements are produced within each rival side in War on a greater scale than within a band of robbers, such as Robin Hood and his merry men at Sherwood Forest in the time of Richard I of England. Nowadays medical science and military science receive a great impetus forward by War providing both scope and incentive. Improved surgery, cures for scourges such as malaria, and quicker means of transport have been developed; and lastly the utilisation of atomic energy has been expedited by the last Great War. The military contribution by the Great Powers as a measure of social insurance is consuming an increasingly large proportion of the national income. War itself is becoming a totalitarian affair. Formerly it used to be the sport of the dominant

leaders or kings, later of the dominant merchant class, and confined mainly to the professional military combatants. Nowadays with aeroplanes and atom-bombs War brings the risk of death right into the homes of almost all men, women and children of the warring states; and therefore almost all mankind earnestly desire peace. Yet why is peace so elusive?

To answer that question let us consider the causes of modern War. The struggle for profits by capitalists is usually adduced as a main cause. But a little careful thought may show that this is not altogether true nowadays. Profits arise from trade, that is the exchange of goods and services. Therefore it is to the interest of all those desiring profits to encourage the flow of goods and services. The experience of the 1914-1918 Great War and its aftermath clearly show that modern War hinders and discourages trade. The numerous states created in Europe with their various tariff barriers, the distrust and animosity created by War and the subsequently enforced Peace, the effect of reparations so ably foretold by J. M. Keynes in his "Economic Consequences of the Peace", and the colossal destruction of capital in the finest men and material are great handicaps to trade. Therefore modern profit-seekers do and should shun War as a means of getting profits. It is true a small section of individuals, such as munition-makers, do make substantial profits from War, but that small section cannot fool the rest of the nation into active War for their benefit. War like arson comes into existence not to profit the building trade but for deeper psychological causes which incidentally yield profits to a section of the traders and manufactures. Socialists as well as capitalists have as common an interest in the suppression of War as of diseases such as cholera. Did not the membership of Russia in the League of Nations imply this? It is now out of date to have War like the Sino-English Opium War at the end of the nineteenth century for purely

economic reasons. America and Britain dominated the Philippines and Palestine respectively for strategic more than for economic causes. The peaceful economic penetration of a country is done nowadays without military conquests which may create a loss of goodwill and diminish trade thereby.

Another usual argument is that wars are inevitable since it is a part of human nature to quarrel. Human behaviour is a product of both man's inherent nature and his nurture. His inherent nature consists of the innate characteristics with which he has been born; and these cannot be altered after his birth. But nurture determines which of these innate characteristics will be cultivated and developed and which stifled. The environment is partly responsible for the various complexes and abnormal conduct of individuals or groups of individuals. You cannot change inherent change inherent human nature except perhaps by selective breeding over a long period, but you can change human behaviour by adjustment of the environment. Some years ago a person in a theatre shouted "Fire", which resulted in the audience driven by its instinct of self-preservation stampeding in a panic for the exits which happened to be closed. In the stampede ten individuals were trampled to death. The alarm was false. At a different theatre where an actual fire occurred, the management by good leadership, requesting the crowd to keep order as there was adequate time, had the theatre emptied in quick time without any casualties. In this latter case the same instinct of self-preservation was guided by social intelligence utilising experience. It showed that man was not a completely helpless puppet of emotional forces which rendered experience and knowledge of no avail. The innate pugnacity and self-assertiveness and partly irrational behaviour of men and societies are factors which demand adequate means and institutions for their expression to the least detriment and perhaps to the social

good of mankind. Men have freedom to do as they please, for instance to drive cars as they like. Society insists on having rules of the road. Such social rules as 'keep to the left' by not permitting chaos on the road enables individuals to travel faster than where no such rules are insisted upon prevent traffic getting into a jam.

Men are quarrelsome. In the lower animal world the quarrel is settled by superior might. One combatant defeats the other and does what he likes. In civilized society the social good is better achieved by administering justice. It is realized that justice cannot be obtained if each litigant is both the advocate and the judge of his dispute, since if that law of the jungle prevailed there will be a decision not of right but might hardly consonant with justice. Such a decision by might, if unjust, will lead to human frustration, family vendettas, ill-will and harm to the society. Therefore as mankind became civilized and societies developed resulting in diverse men coming into contact more frequently, the need for social institutions and the machinery of government became felt. The social law was developed that disputes should be settled by a third party, the judge. The judge (be he king, priest or panchayat or anyone else) was expected to see and hear both parties to the dispute and after considering all the relevant facts dispassionately to give a just decision. In many parts of the civilized world the Courts of Law exist to give fair decisions over a vast range of disputes between human individuals, and there is a police force to see that crimes are punished and each litigant is not a judge in his own dispute. But in disputes between nations the corresponding machinery for just settlement of the international disputes has not been evolved. Consequently between nations the law of the jungle still prevails. For instance, China, Abyssinia and Poland in modern times have found that to be so at the hands of Japan, Italy and Germany

respectively. The young League of Nations, though it had administered justice in minor disputes that threatened War, failed in relation to big Powers, because some of them failed to honour their agreements. The great modern problem is to evolve a satisfactory World Government armed with adequate force to see that international disputes are settled by the judgment of a third party. The system of arbitration by a third party in international disputes existed even prior to the League of Nations, but in very vital matters states have not been willing to abide by such arbitration and have resorted to War. Just as an efficient civilized state must have an adequate military or police force to enforce the judicial or third-party judgment, so the World Government must have adequate military forces to give effect to the third party decision and also the proper means of getting a fair third-party decision. Otherwise the victorious powers of the War will dictate what they consider is a just Peace which is in reality far from being just. The defeated Powers will suffer from a severe sense of frustration. Frustration, whether in individuals or in nations, begets aggression and mental illness. That eventually leads to War. Distrust, fear, hatred, suspicion, dislocation of trade, conscription and great military expenditure ruin the happiness of the individuals of both the victorious and conquered nations. Each nation tends to arm militarily to feel secure. If it is militarily stronger than its neighbour, the latter feels proportionately insecure and strives to get alliances. The balancing of power, is very wasteful and seldom successful in avoiding War.

One of the causes for the failure of the League of Nations was that the public opinion in the different states did not support it adequately and cause the Government in power to honour its pledges in the League's Covenant. The leaders in power in a democracy are sensitive to public opinion. The fate of President Wilson and the U.S.A.'s refusal to join the League of Nations show what

effect public opinion can have in matters for the public good. Almost all individuals in Britain and the U.S.A. desired peace passionately but they did not realise that some of their more passionate prejudices and ideals of isolation and of not becoming entangled in other nations' affairs, etc., were incompatible with the continued maintenance of peace. Their mistaken policy of isolation did not prevent their becoming entangled in the last two great World Wars. The World is becoming increasingly one, as the Machine Age is growing.

History proves that seldom do federations of individual states come into existence effectively without War. Take for instance the U.S.A. During the War of Independence the thirteen colonies by 'Articles of Confederation' formed an "Indissoluble Compact." Nevertheless the subsequent repeated failures to abide by the compact reduced the system to anarchy. The Coastal States taxed traffic passing through to the inland states. Utter confusion prevailed in the realm of finance. The Confederate Government failed to execute its treaties with Britain and Spain since the component States neglected to take appropriate action. The federalists showed that the same results followed where as in Greece, Germany and Switzerland a stable society was attempted by mere compacts between sovereign states, since such a confederacy can operate by virtue of almost continuous civil wars. The remedy adopted by the Congress of Philadelphia in 1788 A.D., in drawing up the American Constitution was to make the Federal Government derive its authority not from the States but direct from the individuals composing the States and to empower the Federal Government to enforce obedience to that authority on persons who disobeyed it. Abraham Lincoln had to depend on all citizens loyal to the Union being willing to risk their lives to enforce its laws on the seceding states. The power of the federal government depended on that loyalty which is really a spiritual

factor. Always at the crucial moment of the surrender of sovereignty by states in forming a federal Union there had been War. Socially and economically human society was becoming closely integrated; but politically it was still fragmented into over sixty separate sovereign states, not much imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice for others and bursting with pride and zeal for self-determination. The fever of excessive nationalism prevalent did not help much the emergence of a World State. The method of formation of a World State by one State conquering or subduing all the others forcefully is dangerous, as it will destroy much of civilization that made life worth living. The alternative method of a federal World State being evolved depends on whether the pressure of danger of destruction by modern War with its atom-bombs and possible bacterial weapons, etc., presses sufficiently to overcome the existing parochial national prejudices hindering the necessary sacrifice of national sovereignty in time to avert the catastrophe. Whether more Great Wars will be necessary before the required sacrifice of national sovereignty is made remains to be seen. The discovery of the dread power of the atomic bomb and the statement by scientists that within five years more than one nation will possess such bombs has crystallised and brought this problem to a head. Let us hope that selfish national pride will not hinder adequate justice being done and a proper solution to the problem being achieved, which will provide collective security that is really both collective and truly secure.

The attainment of international peace will not necessarily imply the absence of civil war. If civil disputes cannot be settled peacefully, civil war may result. One of the conditions for the prevalence of the rule of law is the existence of respect for law. Legal forms are respected when individuals feel that they have the great ends of life in common. Certain states have evolved democratic government

as a method of developing and maintaining the rule of law. Democracy has been successful only where there was a spirit of toleration so that the minority was willing to abide by the majority's decision and the majority did not tyrannize and infringe too much on the minority's freedom. That spirit has been evolved in civilized communities like Switzerland and Britain by decades of education. Yet in France democratic government with its numerous parties has produced too insecure a central government to perform the functions of government well resulting in the disastrous consequences seen in the last War. The able militant French of Napoleon's time could hardly be recognised in its modern descendants. The heredity was not different, but the nurture and environment was. Each state must evolve the best form of Government suited to its genius, which will provide good Government including efficient justice and the amenities of civilized life. In the ideal state not only will there be the four freedoms of the Atlantic Charter guaranteeing freedom from want, fear and of speech and of worship which animals in a good Zoo possess, but also freedom of movement and scope for full development of a healthy personality. The problem of the modern age is to devise suitable means whereby the social equilibrium may be adjusted peacefully within each state and between states to meet modern needs. The machinery may have to be different and adapted to the particular needs, temperament and outlook of the various groups. In this imperfect world some injustice owing to human frailty seem to be inevitable. If the conflicting issues reach deep into very foundations of society upon which the Court of Justice rests, its judgments become interested judgments. Our historical judgments when examined carefully show an amazing compound of unconscious ignorance and conscious rationalization of selfish interests. Our own emotions in the drama of which we form a part colour our judgments and often

prevent thereby absolute impartiality. The anti-Semitism in many states may be due partly to the ancient traditional "enmity complex" between two tribes that exist separately, like a mixture of oil and water, in the same territory and partly to the leaders of the dominant majority directing the aggression resulting from frustration towards the substitute object of the Jewish community. The reasons given in their judgments are conscious rationalizations of these unconscious or conscious prejudices. The means for minimizing such injustice are most difficult to devise and constitute, a problem facing our leaders.

It is possible that, before attainment of the World-State, groups of nations may evolve into empires based not so much on master-servant relationship as on the partnership basis with common interests, such as defence, as federal subjects. Just as though expert doctors disagree on many topics, they agree wholeheartedly over so vast a range that sanitary authorities have been able by utilising the agreed knowledge to improve the general health immensely, even so nations may be able to utilise the agreed common uncontroversial interests to evolve super-national units that result in increasing the individual's liberty and happiness. The trend in the British Empire is towards partnership between equal dominions. The various States differing languages and religions enjoy equal partnership in Soviet Russia.

Finally the peace that really passes all understanding comes from communion with the divine. The great mystics of all ages in the great religions of the world exemplify the truth of this. Both in triumph and in extreme persecution they have displayed that serene calm and peace of mind which is truly divine. The greatest of human power cannot eradicate the divine peace. Effective peace in this world can be achieved by the growth of healthy spiritual power among the leaders of mankind and its diffusion among

all races, so that it may leaven and actuate them all permitting a wholesome unity in a healthy diversity. The divine peace transcends the bovine peace or contentment of the lower animals devoid of imagination as well as the higher peace of detachment of the self-centred, self-destroying Stoic variety. The divine peace leads its possessors into selfless service for others notwithstanding persecution and severe suffering inflicted on them. It must be distinguished from that self-love of some social workers who find no service for others a satisfaction of their selfish desire to keep the affairs of others in their power. This self-love manifests itself internationally in the self-righteousness of victorious nations in a war who pose as executors of divine judgment and consciously or unconsciously hide their interests in using punishment as a means of crippling the vanquished foe's power of competition with them in trade and thereby prevents the repentance of the foe. The divine peace is one which does not prematurely arrest the creative urges of life for the sake of a premature tranquillity or which shuns one's responsibilities towards others for fear of becoming contaminated in fulfilling one's duty towards one's neighbours. It is exemplified in the lives of the great mystics of history, such as Jesus and Buddha. Such divine peace can be attained by true religion that transcends the petty differences of the various sects.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest, and in particular on subjects bearing on the political, commercial, industrial and economic condition of India. Short articles on topical subjects are preferred. Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for.

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 700 words.

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor, *The Indian Review*, G. T., Madras.

# OUR STERLING BALANCES.

BY PROF. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M.A.

THE problem of redeeming sterling balances is of very great importance from the Indian point of view. India is a poor country and stands in need of the development of her economic conditions and of the improvement in the living standards of her people. These balances provide the means for getting equipment from England and other countries to enable our economy to be constructed along proper lines. Hence the greatest importance has been attached in India to the repayment of these balances. From time to time statements have been made in the British press and by eminent persons in Britain that these balances must be scaled down. Such statements have naturally created uneasiness in Indian business circles. Recently such a statement was made by Dr. Hugh Dalton, the British Chancellor of Exchequer who is reported to have remarked that "The debts incurred by Britain as her price of Victory should be very substantially scaled down." Premier Attlee is also reported to have endorsed the suggestion. Some time back a question was put in the British Parliament to which the reply was that Britain reserves the right to present a counter claim on India. This was referred to in the course of discussion in the Indian Legislature also. The Anglo-American Loan Agreement provides that Britain would press for scaling down a part of the sterling balances. Further in his budget speech Dr. Dalton made the following observation in connexion with the external problem of Britain's balance of payments: "These great balances can never be discharged, or even diminished, except by unrequited exports, exports unbalanced by imports. And these unrequited exports are—I speak bluntly looking at the facts as they represent themselves to me—a luxury of which we can afford very little for many years to come."

Statements like these naturally create uneasiness in India. Our sterling

balances stand at about Rs. 1600 crores and it appears that a plea will be put forward at the London Conference to scale them down. Consequently, the Indian Delegation must be prepared to meet the situation. On 30th June, 1945, the sterling area balances amounted to £2670 million or about Rs. 3500 crores. It is thus clear that India is most vitally affected in any scheme or plan connected with the repayment of sterling balances.

The balance-of-payment position of Britain is of course difficult. Britain is depending upon American and Canadian credits. There is inadequacy of man power and fuel in the country which places a handicap on its productive capacity. There has been a great fall in the over-seas investments of Britain. Political consciousness is growing among the Empire countries which will be an important factor in Britain's ability to earn foreign currencies. If these countries develop their shipping, insurance and foreign banking services, Britain's invisible income will be reduced considerably. Britain is of course being faced with these difficulties; but India has to look to her own economic condition also. To call these balances as war-time debts which are unreal and unjust would practically mean repudiation. It would also cut at the root of the assurance given at Bretton Woods in July 1945 by the leader of the British Delegation, the late Lord Keynes, that these obligations will be honourably paid just as they were honourably and generously given.

It is unnecessary to recall how these balances accumulated in relation to India. The Reserve Bank of India Act of 1934 provides that sterling securities meaning thereby short-term bills of exchange, short dated securities of the British Government repayable within 5 years as also balance with the Bank of England can be treated as backing or cover for the Indian currency system. They grew up mainly during the War. In 1938-39 their amount in the Issue Department was Rs. 67



crores and in March 1946 the corresponding figure exceeded Rs. 1100 crores. These figures, of course, do not include the balances of the Banking Department. In 1946 the total of the Banking and the Issue Departments exceeded Rs. 1700 crores. Their accumulation was caused by the methods of war finance as a result of which goods were purchased in India at control prices on behalf of His Majesty's Government and payment was made in sterling. It was transferred to the Reserve Bank of India on the basis of which currency expansion took place in our country. The accumulation of these balances thus caused inflation and corresponding hardship to the people of the country. It may also be pointed out that if Section 33 of the Reserve Bank of India Act had not permitted the expansion of Indian currency on the basis of sterling, the accumulation of these balances would not have been possible. Thus the methods of war finance coupled with legislation led to the accumulation of these balances.

They cannot be treated on the basis of lend-lease arrangements. America is a rich country and could afford to cancel lend-lease debts. India, on the other hand, is a poor country in whose case these balances stand at 50 per cent. of the annual national income. America entered the war for the purposes of her own defence. But India did not have the same freedom. Consequently, there is a fundamental difference in respect of the treatment of these balances in relation to India and the American lend-lease aid given to Britain.

There was a Parliamentary Committee appointed in Britain according to whose findings there was no profiteering on the part of India in having supplied goods to His Majesty's Government. According to the Committee the prices were reasonable. Moreover, these balances are a backing of our currency system. To scale down these balances would be tantamount to depreciating the basis of our currency system. Their

wiping off would undermine popular confidence in the basis of our currency system and credit would suffer. Consequently scaling down from any point of view should be regarded as out of the question. A perusal of the debates of the Indian Legislature on Bretton Woods goes to show the great importance that is attached to these balances in India. The *ad hoc* Committee of the Indian Legislature pointed out that India's membership on the Bretton Woods Institutions should be determined by the outcome of the negotiation on sterling balances between England and India. It was also suggested by the Committee that it may be necessary for India to withdraw before these negotiations take place if their outcome was not satisfactory or if they were unduly delayed and the need for an authoritative assurance on this point by His Majesty's Government at an early date was emphasised by the Committee.

As pointed out above India stands in need of placing her economy in order. We require capital goods and equipment to finance our industries. Our sterling balances can serve as the main source out of which to finance our economic development schemes. We made sacrifices during the war in fact to a great extent. Production suffered and scarcity resulted which brought about privation to the masses of the country. Millions of people died in Bengal Famine. Moreover we repaid the sterling debt without murmur or question. Between 1869 and 1928 India's favourable balance of trade was about Rs. 1400 crores and yet India was a debtor nation. How Indian sterling debt accumulated and was paid off never became the subject of negotiations. India made huge sacrifices in having paid this debt. This factor has also to be taken into account.

Thus far with regard to the argument about the sacrifices theory during the war for scaling down these balances. We do appreciate Britain's difficulties, but Britain

is far richer than India. On social security schemes her annual expenditure will be about Rs. 1000 crores. Our sterling resources are needed for developing our economy. It would not, therefore, be proper to compel India to make the sacrifice of her balances before exploring all other methods of tiding over the crisis. Perhaps it would be proper to ascertain foreign exchange requirements of India for a period of 5 years. Provision should be made for these requirements for this period out of the sterling balances.

British commercial and industrial investment in India should be liquidated at fair prices. Other countries did so. Either a committee should be appointed to evaluate

these investments or this should be a subject of negotiation between the representatives of Indian Government and His Majesty's Government in the ensuing London talks on the matter. The question of redeeming the remaining part of the balances may be taken up after this period of time when conditions become more clarified and when transitional difficulties are also largely over and India should get a fair rate of interest on the balances for the period during which they remain unconverted. Unless this is done, the independence of the rupee which has been secured by amending sections 40 and 41 of the Reserve Bank of India Act may not allow our economy to be put on a sound basis.

## THE LIVING WAGE

BY MR. C. A. SÁLDANHA, M.A.,

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THE introduction of the Minimum Wage Legislation in this country has invested the doctrine of the Living Wage with the highest importance and significance.

A living wage has been authoritatively defined as "What is required by a person in order to live". The wage must be sufficient for the worker, his wife and three or four children to provide for their elementary wants of food, clothing and shelter, an elementary knowledge of the three R's and a modest provision against old age and sickness.

The terms *living wage* and *minimum wage* carry the same import although they differ as to details. While the living wage implies that the wage should be related to the living conditions of the operative and his family, minimum wage legislation requires the determination of wages as much by the needs of the labourer as by the ability of the employer and the interests of the community at large.

The fundamental flaw in the classical tradition with regard to the wage question

lay in its failure to distinguish between an ordinary material commodity and labour which has a personality behind it. In the result wages were determined solely by the play of the forces of supply and demand without reference to the needs of labour. Wages were to fall by half when two employees ran after one employer and to double when two masters pursued one operative.

In answer to the call of enlightened values, the system of bargained labour has largely been superseded by minimum wage legislation because the evils of the old system are too patent. The discouragement to marriage, the gravitation of women and children from the hearth to the factory and the consequent destruction of home life, the steady deterioration of the health and moral qualities of the families affected, and the degree of mental and physical starvation caused thereby—these are some of the disastrous consequences of the system of bargained wages. That system assumes equality of bargaining strength which in reality is lacking on the side of labour.

Fortunately, to-day, public opinion, threat of strikes, the growing consciousness among workers of their rights and social importance and the perceptible though belated change of heart on the part of employers indicate the impossibility of sustaining the practice of bargained labour.

The principle of the living wage is not in dispute and to-day we are in a position to discuss the implication of minimum wage legislation.

The living wage to be truly such should be a family wage. Normally an operative is a married man and begets children and the wage accordingly should be enough to meet his reasonable minimum wants as well as those of his family.

If a worker is paid anything below the essential minimum, he is treated as less than a human being. It follows from this that, other things being equal, a bachelor or a spinster should be paid the same wage as a married person. Otherwise the employer will naturally be inclined to take in mostly unmarried labourers because anything that goes to reduce his wage bill will increase his profits. The requirements of the unmarried are naturally less than those of the married. On this account the preparedness of the unmarried to work at a wage lower than the family wage cannot provide the employers with an argument to pay a lower wage.

A woman or a youngster should be paid the same rate of wages as an adult male worker where the work done is of the same description and of equal efficiency. It is common knowledge that women and children are conspicuous for their lack of bargaining power and their habit to be content with a lower rate of wages is no argument for the lowering of the wage rate.

The proper place for the worker's wife is the home. If a family wage is paid there is no need for her to leave the hearth for the factory. The children in their formative period need her most. The position is not much altered if she is

childless. Even in the case of a widow the position does not change where there is adequate provision for insurance against widowhood. Where the husband is incapacitated in the course of trade there is compensation through Workmen's Compensation Acts.

By far the greatest of obstacles to the smooth working of the minimum wage is business depression which is generally followed up by a cut in wages or dismissal of some of the employees or both. However, we are to-day in a position to forecast such a depression and to tackle it more or less effectively when it actually comes by resorting to the accepted technique of a liberal investment on public works. Only, in the transition period between incipient depression and business revival labour would have to accommodate itself to a lower wage rate unless the employers are prepared to keep the existing wage by further economy in other directions and by falling back upon past profits.

Of course no employer is under any obligation to pay the minimum wage during abnormal times like an economic depression, if he is really not in a position to pay it. But it was rightly held by Justice Gordon in the famous Brushmakers' Case (1908 U. S. A.) that where a businessman cannot at all remain in his trade by paying the minimum wage in good times as well as bad, he should close his doors.

The Minimum wage legislation has its own limitations in practice. For one thing, although the law lays down a particular wage it does not and cannot say that at that wage the employer should maintain the full labour force. There is, therefore, the temptation to introduce labour-saving devices like the introduction of additional and improved machinery, rigid scientific management, etc., and discharge of some of his operatives in order to prevent a rise in the wage bill. Herein lies the loophole of the law. It is upto the businessman to decide in the interests of his employees and to

keep all of them at the existing wage rate. Ultimately it is a matter of goodwill and of sympathy.

The problem of full employment comes into conflict with the principle of the living wage especially in a country like India where modern industry is in its infant stage and employment in the rural areas is seasonal in character. At this stage of her economic development full employment cannot be maintained by paying every employee a family wage in the fullest sense of the term. The choice has to be made between paying a minimum wage for a part of the labour force and full employment by paying lower wages.

Difficulties both of logic and of statistics arise when we come to fix a specific minimum wage. A comprehensive study of family budgets will give a fair indication of the labourer's needs. There cannot be a uniform standard minimum wage for the whole of a country and for all time in any particular area owing to different standards of living in different parts of the country and its variations from time to time in the same locality. The 'content' of the wage would also depend on the economic efficiency of the country concerned. Thus while the demand for a living wage in the U. S. A. would include the desire for a radio set, in India it frankly involves in most cases a cry for an additional meal to feed a hungry mouth.

In this connection the importance of index numbers of the costs of living can hardly be exaggerated. The figures when prepared with due care would help the authorities and private agencies to vary the wage rates as and when required. A sliding scale of wages is essential to obviate the friction caused by the lag of wages behind prices, especially when prices are given too much to frequent and violent fluctuations.

It was a gratifying feature of World War II that consequent on the high cost

of living both Government and almost all private undertakings granted dearness allowances to their employees. Unfortunately they were inadequate in most cases. In most cases the allowances have not been dropped as the war conditions are still with us. When normal conditions are restored the principle underlying this practice should not be ignored. Only a separate allowance need not be attached to the basic wage. The basic wage should be raised.

The consumer's role in giving effect to the doctrine of the living wage cannot be over-emphasized. They can effectively, although only indirectly, help the wage-earner by buying from or otherwise patronising those employers who can pay the living wage and do pay it.

The advantages of paying a living wage are not in dispute. Employers, employees and the community at large stand to benefit.

It is in the employer's own interest to pay a living wage. In a way it guards against depression in that it diffuses a vaster purchasing power to the wage-earning class, which will ultimately be utilized for purchases. A living wage makes the worker more enthusiastic and efficient. There is bound to be better and larger production. The initial burden of a higher wage will ultimately be offset by greater profits consequent on larger sales. Mutual regard between employer and the employed is increased and strikes and lockouts tend to become things of the past. After all industrial peace and harmony are a *sine qua non* for continuous and efficient production.

The living wage when it is properly spent will be of immense benefit to the operative. It will encourage marriage because they cannot afford it. The wife and children of the worker will be better fed, better clothed and better housed. He will be able to put by something in order to own property and meet the vicissitudes of industrial life.

While the labourer has a right to receive a family wage he has corresponding duties to his employer, his family and the community in general. It ultimately depends on the worker himself to earn a family wage. He must spend the wage in the best interests of his family. Otherwise the term family wage becomes a misnomer. For instance, if he fritters away most of his income by indulging in drink and allied wasteful and unproductive expenditure, he is defeating the purpose of the family wage. Thereby he will starve out his family on the one hand and to great injustice to his employer and to the community by the loss in efficiency.

If an employer pays the family wage but increases the hours of work, he goes counter to the spirit of the family wage. Per contra, there is no argument to maintain low wages by reducing hours of work. The essence of the family wage is that given normal working conditions the wages should be sufficient for the wage-earner and his family to live in frugal comfort.

In the attempt to establish a living wage the community should not be made a scape-goat by employers by raising the price of their products indiscriminately. A greater generosity on the part of the community, a certain amount of sacrifice

by employers by being content with lower profits and the willingness of the other factors of production to receive lower rewards by way of interest and rent would go a considerable way to solve the problem of shouldering the financial burden entailed by higher wages. From another point of view also, the burden need not be exaggerated because the extra wage bill when spread over a larger number of units will not materially add to the price of each commodity.

The living wage has become a *fait accompli*. Consequent on the recognition of the doctrine of the living wage minimum wage laws have been passed in various countries and put into operation and the results have belied the fears entertained in those countries by opponents of minimum wage legislation.

It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss the problem of the living wage in its application to India. But it must be noted that wages in this country are deplorably low. The problem of the minimum wage in India is intimately bound up with larger questions of industrialization, protection, land revenue reform and so on. In these circumstances, it cannot be gainsaid that a truly National Government alone can tackle the wage question in any country successfully.

## THE HOUSING PROBLEM

BY MR N. V. ESWAR

THE housing problem has been with us for the last six years. Every one has been talking about it. Almost every one has been a victim of this problem. Every other man is troubled for suitable living accommodation. Indeed, the way almost every one asks with a pathetic look and voice whether he could get some living space somewhere would indicate that more than 75 per cent. of the people in our cities and towns to-day live either on the footpaths or on house tops.

Cases, where the husband and wife have to live separately in the same town, with their children being looked after by some kind relations, and entire families leading a scattered existence for the simple reason that they cannot live together under one roof, are far too numerous to have escaped the attention of even the superfluous observer.

Yet, we have not been able to do anything about this problem. This problem, which has shattered all family

ties has had a leeway of six years. Something should have been done in all these six years to shorten this leeway and reduce the intensity of the havoc it plays in human existence. Now that the period of stress and strain has ended, it is reasonable to expect that there should have been exhibited some real enthusiasm and activity to make up the entire lee-way within the shortest possible time. Though a year of clear breathing space has gone by, nothing has been done to mitigate the pangs of this problem. The problem of housing still remains as it was all these years. Not much serious attention is bestowed on it which it demands.

Consider the results achieved by Britain in the matter of housing. German bombs alone destroyed completely 2,000,000 houses. Houses seriously damaged and, consequently, unfit for human occupation without extensive and expensive repairs, numbered 2,50,000. The number of houses slightly damaged during the Blitz was 40,00,000. Not only should these damaged houses be repaired to make them fit for human occupation, but the completely destroyed houses also should be replaced. It is estimated that 7,50,000 houses would be built immediately to house the homeless. This in itself is a gigantic work.

Add to the above figures 50,00,000 houses planned to be built during the next 10/20 years to relieve the congestion, clearing slums and replacing worn-out structures.

The above would give you a fairly accurate idea of the problem Britain has to handle. And what is her achievement in the field? Before the year 1946 ended, Britain had already built up 1,50,000 houses. Of these, 58,000 houses are permanent and 98,000 temporary. Leaving aside the temporary houses out of count, even the construction of 58,000 permanent houses and putting back into use those houses damaged in the Blitz are a mighty achievement for any nation to shout about.

And during part of this year itself, 2,25,000 families, numbering a total of 7,50,000 people have been given homes to live in.

It would do well to remember that all this has been achieved within about six months since the War ended. Also, bear in mind prominently that all building activity was completely at a stand-still in Britain during all the war years. Not a single house was built in Britain during all the six years of World War II.

So Britain had to start almost from the scratch. That Britain could make such a phenomenal headway, in the matter of housing the people within such a short time, only shows the determination of the Government in charge there to help the common people get homes of their own. The immensity and the intensity of the housing problem do not seem to have quailed the heart of the British Government. On the other hand, it would appear that these very characteristics of the problem have given the Government the necessary inspiration and enthusiasm to tackle it successfully.

We in India do not have a hundredth part of the problem faced by Britain. We do not have our houses bombed out. No V-2 rockets smashed our houses. No missile or blasts damaged our houses. The problem with us has been that of purely building more houses. The available materials with us need not be spent up in extensive repairs to damaged houses, which has been the case in Britain. We need not also divert a portion of the labour force in pulling down the seriously damaged houses. So every available ounce of resources and material could be put to the task of building more houses. Although it is a year since the War ended, our record in this field is practically nil. With the problem less intense and supply of man-power greater than Britain, we should have achieved something mightier than Britain. Yet practically nothing has been

done. We have not moved an inch in the direction of solving this housing problem.

At least some effort could have been expended in keeping up the temporary military structures from falling down; these could have been used for human habitation on a temporary basis. This also was not done. We have right in the centre of our own cities military structures which could have been converted into houses with slight adjustments and alter-

ations. Yet one literally watches them daily falling off bit by bit.

Like Rip Van Winkle, the Authorities have waken up to realise the problem. It is something good that they have at last waken up. But the realisation of the problem is very shallow. For we hear them talk of hoping to build some 1,000 houses before another year is out. Hoping to build 1,000 houses with all the manpower available in the country. What a pious hope it is!

## THE MESSAGE OF ASIA

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FOR the first time in the history of the world, on the eve of India's independence, over 200 delegates from more than thirty countries of Asia assembled to study their problems and to chalk out a plan that would hold them together against the attrition and the ambitions of an 'atomic age'. The great Indian leader Pandit Nehru inaugurated the conference with a spirited and eloquent speech where he indicated, what the purpose of the conference is and what it is not. The conference is not for the grouping of Asiatic powers against any European block with a view to aggression and imperialist ambition. Nehru declared, "we have no designs against any body, and ours is the greatest design of promoting peace and progress all over the world." Gandhiji in his benediction speech said, 'East must conquer the West, with the message of truth and love'. He exhorted the delegates to "work for the realisation of the one world." He added, 'I would not like to live if it was not one world.' The permanent outcome of the conference is the pooling together of the wisdom of all the Asian Nations for their use and instruction. A permanent Asian school of studies is set up at New Delhi.

It is not without some significance that the conference is held in India. "She is

the natural centre and the focal point of the many forces that work in India." In the words of Sir Radhakrishnan, all roads in Asia lead to India. Geographically she is the meeting point of the Western and the Northern and the South east Asia. Lowes Dickinson in his celebrated 'Essay on the Civilisations of India, China and Japan' observes, "the real antithesis is not between East and West, but between India and the rest of the world". With the advent of the several European imperialisms, many of the Asiatic countries got reduced to the colonial and the semi-colonial status. Most of them were isolated from one another and all contacts snapped.

If we look back to the pages of Asia's history, the grand panorama of spectacular achievements unfolds before our mind's eye. During the 'dark ages' when Europe was deep sunk in ignorance and sloth Asia had a splendid record. The great English educationist-historian H. A. L. Fisher writes, "for four centuries the intellectual leadership of the world belonged to the people of Islam. It is during this period that the disciples of the prophet conquered Syria, Egypt, North Africa and after some time Spain. It is again during the 'dark ages' that the Tang Dynasty in China produced its famous poets and writers who added to the

permanent literature of the world. India spread during this period Buddhism from Ceylon to the farthest isles of the Japanese Archipelago.

As for the production of material goods Asian countries had already learnt to produce fine cotton and silk. The discovery of Algebra and the science of measurement were already in possession of many eastern countries. The record of the recent struggles of the Asian countries against their respective foreign aggressors is bold and evokes admiration. The lives of the great architects of Asian freedom, Sun Yat Sen, Zaghlul Pasha, Gandhi, Nehru etc., are living examples of the passion for freedom and love of their culture.

The Asian countries with India as their focus have a very great role to play in the comity of Nations. Will Durant in "The Story of Civilisation" writes, "perhaps in return for conquest arrogance and spoilation, India will teach us the tolerance and the gentleness of the mature mind, the quiet content of the unacquisitive soul, the calm of the understanding spirit and a unifying pacifying love for all living things." The archæologists' spade points to us not only the antiquity of the Indian civilisation but also its extent. To-day we find Hindu temples and cities unearthed at Anuradhapura in Ceylon, at Borobudur in Java and at Angkor in Cambodia. Sir Aurel Stein has traced Indian settlements and caravan routes through the deserts of Central Asia right up to the great wall of China. In the second century B C Buddhism crossed the Indian borders into Mongolia. We have a record of an uninterrupted cultural relationship with China from the time of Kanishka to Harsha. Many important Buddhist texts are to this day preserved in Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan versions.

The great message of India enshrined in the Upanishads, Gita and the parables of Gautama the Buddha has influenced many European intellectuals, (e.g.) Schopenhauer, Hartmann, Nietzsche, Keyserling, Emerson,

Thoreau, W. B. Yeats, George Russell, Romain Rolland, Aldous Huxley, etc. W. B. Yeats in his estimate of India's wisdom writes, "Goethe, Wordsworth, Emerson and Thoreau among moderns have something of this vitality and wisdom, but we can find all they have said and much more in the grand sacred books of the east. The Bhagavad Gita and the Upanishads contain such god-like fulness of wisdom on all things that I feel the authors must have looked with calm remembrance back through a thousand passionate lives, full of feverish strife for and with shadows, ere they could have written with such certainty of things which the soul feels to be sure."

It is this wisdom that the world lacks today. India needs to recreate it first, for her own use. By this wisdom she can save herself from the crisis and save the rest of the world by her example. A few years before his death Romain Rolland exclaimed, "there are a certain number of us in Europe for whom the civilisation of Europe is no longer enough."

The Asiatic countries are decried as lacking in scientific skill and administrative capacities. Political organisation is the life blood of modern nations and Asiatic countries are supposed to be slack in it. This may be a present plight. If we look back to the past we find that the wisdom of political organisation was not unknown to India. The Buddhist king Ajatasatru wanted to invade the Vajjin states and asked the Buddha whether he could do so with success. The great Buddha turned to his favourite disciple Ananda and put in a number of questions:—Do the Vajjins meet frequently to discuss political matters? Do they reverence age, experience, and ability? Do they transact their business in concord and harmony? To all this Ananda answered in the positive. The Buddha declared so long as these good practices are observed by the the Vajjins they are unconquerable. We do not know whether any of our modern political charters can



afford to be indifferent to the above elements. They are essential for any form of democracy provided it takes care not to degenerate into a mob-rule.

So the message of India and Asia in general is the dignity of man and the affirmation of the spirit. In the Upanishadic language it is Ahimsa and Abhaya (Love and Fearlessness), and in Buddhist parlance it is Prajna and Shila (Wisdom and Compassion). Today in the personality of Gandhiji we have the combination of the Bodhisattva ideal of Mahayana Buddhism and Karma Yoga of the Bhagavad Gita. He says like the Buddha of old "that there can be no happiness for any of us until it is won for all." He asks a world given over to strife and hatred and built on lovelessness to take to the love of all. He is what he seems. He preaches what he practices. He declared "if blood is to be shed let it be ours, learn the quiet art of dying without inflicting it on others." In his own words, 'India is a house on

fire'. He exhorts India to take to the path of non-violence, which he declares is the only effective defence against the atom bomb.

The so called realists in politics whose realism tends at times to defeat the ideal itself declare "that non-violence is the dream of the wise and violence is the history of men." It is not so, and it shall not be so and I shall preach to the contrary till there is a single individual of that opinion, says Gandhiji. Non-violence is not a matter of academic debate between highbrows, it is the exasperated cry of the human soul against the violence of the ice age. To a world given over to force and power politics, land-hunger and profit-motive Gandhiji declares the reality of spirit. When we have digested our recent scientific achievements, when we have gone every where and done every thing and when we encounter last our own blood stained face, we will pause to listen to the message of the Mahatma which is the message of India and Asia.

## POLITICS AND PERSONALITIES

BY MR T K VENKATARAMAN, M.A., L.T

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THE difference between Ancient Democracy and Modern Democracy is profound. Yet, human nature has been the same in all ages. Let us glance, for a moment, at the quaint ceremonials that attended the meeting of the Legislatures. All citizens of Athens had to attend the meetings of the Assembly. Scythian policemen stretched a cord covered with red powder across the road and by means of it impelled every one to the place of meeting. Those in the rear got a red mark on their backs and had to pay fine for their lateness. The meeting began with a sacrifice. Then, a herald read the proposed law and enquired "Who wishes to speak?" The speakers in turn spoke from a platform of stone. Vote was taken by a show of hands. On the other hand in the Roman

Senate, the senators arranged themselves, during voting, on the right or left side of the hall, and the number of people in each group was counted. In the Roman Assembly, the citizens entered a wooden enclosure by crossing a bridge of planks and voted by a ballot dropped into an urn. The meeting had to end before sunset, and was dissolved by a clap of thunder or an attack of epilepsy.

In the modern British House of Commons, the Speaker wears the 18th century costume of knee breeches, silver-buckled shoes, lace cravat and cuffs, and a full-bottomed wig. The proceedings could not begin till the Mace, ceremoniously borne by the Serjeant-at-Arms, is placed on his table. When the Speaker is first elected, the proposer and seconder take

him by the hand and lead him to his chair with a show of force a relic of the past when the speakers were unwilling to take up duties which might arouse the anger of the King. When the vote is taken, the Speaker calls on members to cry "Aye" or "No", and decides according to the preponderance of the sound. If this decision is challenged, a division is ordered. Members file into side-lobbies, the Ayes to the right, the Noes to the left and more counted by "tellers". When the sitting ends, there is heard the curious cry "Who goes home?"—a survival from the days when roads were not safe to go without escort.

Drunken members are rare. But, in the 18th century, drink was a fashionable vice. Even Pitt the Younger was a slave to it. Once, he and his friend, Henry Dundas, entered the House. Pitt cried "Hal, I don't see the Speaker. Can you?" Dundas exclaimed "you don't see the Speaker, Billy! How strange! I see two". At the time of Speaker Abbot, a member entered the House after dining well, made disparaging remark about Parliament, and called on the Speaker for a song.

The procedure of legislation is generally regarded as dull. But, sometimes, it has comic features. If we can believe Burnet's 'History of His Own Times' the Habeas Corpus Act was passed in the House of Lords, through a curious chance. The division was on. A very fat lord was passing. The teller counted him as ten in fun, and the teller on the opposite side never noticed the error. Then, there was the ill-drafted bill of 1816 decreeing fourteen years' transportation for a particular offence, and laying down that, upon conviction, half of it should go to the informer and half to the King.

Proceedings in Parliament give occasion for several amusing incidents. There is the bore who interminably harangues empty benches. One such declaimed "I speak to posterity". A weary member muttered "yes, if you go on like this, you will see your audience before you". Another, after a

long oration, announced that he wished to read a clause of the Riot Act. One member called out "you have done that already. The mob is dispersed". One of these orators was subjected to repeated interruptions by his exhausted and exasperated audience. He uttered the dire threat. "If you do not allow me to finish in my own way, I'll not leave off at all". Complete silence followed. Col. Barre brought a motion on the Navy. Lord North whispered to his neighbour, "This tedious bore will give us our naval history from the beginning. Awake me when he comes near to the present". After five hours, he was awakened and enquired "Where are we?" "At the battle of La Hogue". "Oh, my dear friend, you have awoken me a century too soon". It is said that when the Municipal Corporation Bill was being discussed in 1835, the members, fatigued by a ~~long~~ <sup>series</sup> of speeches saw with dismay a bore rising to speak. There followed a noisy scene resembling an animal menagerie, bass and hoarse voices, drone-like humming, coughing, sneezing, yawning, yelps of hounds, crowning of cocks, bleating of sheep, braying of asses, imitation of different musical instruments, cries of "order" and "chair", groans and laughter. On one occasion, a visitor entered the House in the middle of a speech. After a while, he began to fidget and whispered to his neighbour "How long has he been?" "Thirty or forty years, I think". "I'll stay, then" decided the stranger. "He must be nearly done". Then, we hear of an artist of Irish extraction who was speaking for hours. He suddenly burst out in his oration "Ireland is turning out the most artists, and has always turned out the most". As he paused for effect, a member said "Can you blame her?"

A newly elected member was speaking in the House, pounding the desk and waving his arms "What do you think of him?" asked a member. "Oh, he can't help it, poor man" replied the other. "What do you mean?" "You see, his

mother was scared by a wind-mill just before he was born".

The class-consciousness of the snobbish M. P. is satirised in the following story. He was going out with a dog. A friend asked him "Is he a pedigree dog?" The M. P. replied "Pedigree! why, if this dog could talk, he wouldn't speak to either of us". He expressed always violent dislike of the Socialists, and from his conversation, one would think that he was the bosom friend of the cream of the Aristocracy. Once, he was speaking of the magnificence of the household of Duke ....., and asked "I wonder whether any of you have seen his young and lovely antelope". A cruel friend, purposely misunderstanding him, enquired loudly "No, with whom did she elope?" In Parliament he was always the butt of ridicule, though the poor man never saw it. Once, some member referred to him as "a person who does not possess the brains of a rabbit". Being called to order, he said "I withdraw. The Hon. member does possess the brains of a rabbit". A stranger once came to him and said "Sir, I always like to be in the House when you speak". Flattered, the M. P. thanked him and asked what he liked in his speech. The man replied "It is not the speech, Sir. When you rise to speak, I am always sure of getting a good and comfortable seat".

We have a class of speakers—reasonably good but not intellectually prominent. One of these M.Ps. was on a lecturing tour in the U. S. A. At a meeting with some Americans, the talk turned on the capacity of different nations for humour. The Americans maintained that it was at its highest in the U. S. A. The Englishman angrily retorted "I would have you know, gentlemen, that British jokes are not to be laughed at". At another place, an American said that England was so small that its people could not get out of bed without putting their feet into the sea. "You must understand, Sir" replied the M. P. with indignation "that the British Empire is so vast that the Sun never

sets on it". "You are right, Sir" said the Yankee "The Almighty could not trust you fellows in the dark. That is why the Sun never sets in your premises." The M. P. was speechless.

At the opposite extreme are the poor and nervous speakers who always faltered and broke down. Mr. Joseph Choate of New York said of an American politician's speech "Before Balaam's ass spoke, all men regarded it as quite an ordinary Quadraped. But, after it uttered a few words, they discovered what an extraordinary ass it was". A member repeated three times "Here I am" and stopped for words. A voice cried "All right, we see that. The Hon. Member can get on with what he has got to say". Another, who wanted to begin with the words "I am drunk with joy", got stuck up after saying "I am drunk which he repeated and then sat down suddenly amidst yells of laughter. Here is the well-known speech of Drake (18th century M. P.) "Behold Sir, another evil of this system—Not so the Athenian patriots Sir. I mean the Romans—Sir, I've lost the clue of my argument—Sir, I'll sit down" (Vigorous applause). Lord Gardener was thanked by Parliament for the victory of the 1st of June, 1794. Though encouraged by cheers, the nervous lord stammered (with for more than the usual amount of truth) "I'm overpowered by the honour conferred upon me", and, after vainly trying to add a few words, abruptly resumed his seat. Burke and a fellow-member a worthy merchant, went to Bristol in 1774 to thank the constituency for electing them. Burke, as usual, made an eloquent speech expressing gratitude. His colleague, when his turn came, simply stood up and said "Gentlemen, I say ditto to Mr. Burke".

While debates in the legislature are often acrimonious, on occasions, they lapse into extremes of personal abuse. The following incident happened in an Australian legislature. One member referred to another as unfit even to latch his shoes. When he was asked to withdraw his

remark, he replied "I withdraw what I said and gladly acknowledge that the honourable member is quite fitted to carry out the duty I indicated". Personal abuse was very usual in the Irish Parliament. Once, Ponsonby was being attacked in the House by Martin. Martin roared "These Ponsonbys are the curse of the country. They are prostitutes personally and politically,—(pointing to the sister of Ponsonby who was seated in the gallery)—from that toothless old hag who is now grinning in the gallery—(pointing to Ponsonby)—to that whitelivered scoundrel who is now shivering in his seat". Lord North has been praised for his good humoured reception of personal attacks. Once, a vehement attacker noticed that he was seemingly asleep. Still more angry, he shouted "Even now, in the midst of perils, he sleeps". Lord North lazily opened his eyes and said "I wish to God I do". Alderman Sawbridge accompanied the presentation of a petition from Billingsgate with a virulent attack on the minister. Lord North smiled and said "I cannot deny that the Hon. Alderman speaks not only the sentiments but the very language of his constituents". On another occasion, one member denounced "that thing called minister" pointing to Lord North. North rose up, and patting his big body, said "To be sure, I'm a thing. The member says true. There is no offence. For, when he called me "that thing called minister", he called me that thing which of all things he wishes most to be. So, I take it as a compliment". Disraeli was a master of invective. Referring to Lord John Russell's budget of 1848, he declared "In the country, a menagerie before feeding time could alone give an idea of the unearthly yell with which it was received."

The personal character of ministers naturally gets reflected in their policy. The Duke of Newcastle (18th century) was notoriously incompetent. His simple way of dealing with colonial troubles was not to read the despatches from the colonies. Lord North was also inefficient. Once, he was referring to the appointment of an

archdeacon, a member wanted to know his duties. The noble lord scratched his head, and had to send a messenger to a bishop to find out. The bishop, perhaps equally non-plussed, returned the answer: "An Archdeacon is an ecclesiastical officer who performs archidiaconal functions." The strange thing was that this answer satisfied the House. Pitt the Elder knew his job and was resolute. He once sent a messenger to the Channel Fleet ordering it to sail on the coming Tuesday. A reply was returned that it was impossible to get it ready by that day. Pitt simply answered that, in that case, he would have to recommend to the King a Board of Admiralty. The fleet did sail on Tuesday. The Duke of Wellington's political career was a series of colossal errors. Autocratic in temperament, he regarded any criticism as mutiny. His impudent outburst when he was attacked by some of his followers is characteristic: "What's the meaning of a party if they don't follow their leaders? Damn them. Let them go!"

Private biographies of politicians show that, after all, beneath the mystic halo of glory that surrounds many of them, they are essentially human with their own characteristic foibles. During the Midlothian campaign of 1879, at a meeting in the Corn Exchange, Edinburgh, Lord Airlie proposed a vote of thanks to the candidate, Gladstone. Gladstone expressed his thanks to "my friend, Sir George Campbell, for the kind terms in which he has referred to me". Earl Airlie was furious and Gladstone, his attention having been called to the mistake, apologised for his mistake. The next evening, Lord Rosebery gave a dinner party at Dalmeny where the Liberal leader was staying. Gladstone came into the room, and Lord Airlie stepped forward to greet him. Gladstone, shaking hands with him, enquired "Ho do you do, Sir George?" This time, Lord Airlie was nearly apoplectic, and further profound apologies had to be offered. The truth was that the two Liberal leaders Lord Airlie and Sir George Campbell—were remarkably alike each other.

Lord Westbury, who was Lord Chancellor went out with his son to a shooting party. A peasant rose. The Chancellor and his son both fired at it. The bird fell. There now arose an altercation between them as to whose bird it was, both claiming it angrily. 'Tis mine' shouted the son with an oath. 'Liar and scoundrel' thundered Westbury with a stronger oath. "Tis mine alone!" They were about to exchange blows when it appeared that, at the same time the bird was killed, one of the beaters was also hit and wounded. Now, another controversy arose between the father and the son as to which of them had shot the man. Finally, the father declared with a crescendo of oaths that he had never even loaded his gun, much less fired from it;

A class mate of Sir Rufus Isaacs (later Lord Reading, Chief Justice of England and Viceroy of India) described him as the worst of boys in the school. He left lessons unlearned, shirked classwork, and was devoted only to mischief. He delighted also in instilling his "wicked ways" into others. He is painted as "a demoniacal, mischievous imp with sparkling eyes who was always in disgrace or being caned, and, yet withal was ever merry and

humorous". The teacher would often say "Isaac, you will go to the Devil". It was perhaps fitting that Devil (in the legal sense) came to him.

A British politician was not scrupulous with regard to the grant of honours. Once, he was asked why he recommended a Mr. X for a K. C. M. G. He pointed to a hole in the carpet in front of his desk "Do you see that?" he asked. "X wore out that hole when representing to me his claims to be knighted. Matters eventually reached such a pitch that I saw I must either give him the title or buy a new carpet. So, I gave him the K. C. M. G."

Another politician loved practical jokes. A military review was on, and Sir Ian Hamilton was on a horse that had previously been in the bakery business. The politician recognising the steed suddenly cried "Baker!" The horse promptly stopped dead, and nothing could urge it on. The situation was getting painful; when Sir Ian, with great presence of mind, exclaimed within the hearing of the animal 'Not today, thank you!' The procession then moved on without further delay.

## ACOUSTICS OF REED INSTRUMENTS

By MR. R. K. VISVANATHAM, M.A.,

(Annamalai University)

REED Instruments are very common both among us and the Westerners. They are the important instruments in the western orchestra. It is a well-known fact that especially in South India Nadhaswaram holds a unique place in all our religious and social festivities. It is the best among the indigenous reed instruments. Every temple has got a piper attached to it and no marriage is celebrated without Nadhaswaram music. Reed instruments as a class are famous for their voluminous and resonant sound. In some instruments metal reeds are used either with pipes or without pipes. The reed organ pipe is a metal reed

instrument with pipes while the harmonium is a metal reed instrument without pipes. Besides metal reeds cane reeds are also employed. Both single and double cane reeds are used. The clarinet is an example for a single cane reed instrument. Oboe and our Nadhaswaram are examples of a double cane reed instrument. A study of the acoustics of all these reed instruments reveals interesting details about their construction and tonal qualities. We shall see a few typical instruments among them.

The reed of a harmonium is a metal strip screwed down tightly at one end to a metal block. It is so shaped as to fit into

an aperture made in that block. During its vibration the strip swings into the aperture and out of it with a small amount of clearance space. This reed lies between the two wind chests and when the appropriate stop of the harmonium is drawn air rushes from the lower to the upper wind chest setting the reed in vibration. The stream of air is then reduced into a series of separate puffs because the reed alternately opens and closes the aperture. A sound is then generated with a frequency equal to that of the free vibration of the reed. The pressure of the alternating puffs of air has very little influence on these stiff and rather heavy reeds and hence they vibrate with their natural frequencies. As there are no pipes to modify its very high upper partials its sound retains the cutting character. For every note in the musical scale a reed has been provided in the instrument. The construction of the reed organ pipe is different. Its reed differs from that of the harmonium. This is purposely made to be too large to fit into the aperture. Hence it does not swing in and out of the aperture but strikes against it at intervals. A pipe of appropriate length and shape is added to reinforce the vibration of the reed. It is this resonating pipe which makes the tonal quality of the organ pipe different from that of the harmonium. A striking reed is used in preference to a free reed, in order to have plenty of higher harmonics. It is these higher harmonics that account for the brilliance of the organ sound. Nowadays the reeds are curved at their ends so that they can come down with a rolling motion and cover gradually the aperture. They make the higher harmonics less prominent and thus makes the tone more pleasing. Each reed is coupled to a resonator. The shapes of these resonators vary. Both cylindrical pipes and conical pipes are used while in some cases the pipes are short cones surmounted by cylinders.

The clarinet is a single cane reed instrument with a pipe attached to it. This is a very ancient instrument. This occupies a

unique place in the western orchestra and military bands. Clarionets are made for a variety of pitches. The single reed lies over an opening in a mouth piece which is so shaped so as to fit readily between the player's lips. It is secured to the mouth piece by two ligatures. The air from the player's mouth operates the reed and sets it in vibration. It vibrates in the same way as the striking reed in the organ pipe. The pipe attached to the reed in this instrument consists of a cylindrical tube in three sections with a small bell mouth. This pipe is made either in silver or wood. There a number of side holes made in it and keys are provided for operating these holes. When all the finger holes are covered the complete column of air is in use and the clarinet sounds its lowest note. For playing the different notes, the length of the air column is altered with the help of the keys. The cane reed being very much lighter than metal reeds easily forced to vibrate with frequencies quite different from those natural to it. The production of sound in this instrument can be explained in this way. The reed and the air column in the pipe form a coupled system. This system is maintained in vibration by the wind from the player's mouth. The pressure of the air entering is controlled by the player by his cheeks while playing. The vibration of the reed varies the rate at which air enters the pipe. The stream of air being thus reduced to a series of puffs sets the air column in the pipe in vibration. The varying pressure associated with this vibration in the pipe reacts on the reed and forces it to assume a frequency to the column of air in the pipe. It thus behaves unlike the reeds of harmonium and pipe organ.

The action of a double reed instrument is slightly different. The two reeds are bound together at their roots leaving an orifice at their free ends. After inserting this piece into the conical pipe the player holds it in his mouth and blows air into it. The reeds then beat against each other and vibrate. They alternately open and close the aperture. The varying pressure

is communicated to the column of air in the pipe... In these instruments conical pipes are used instead of cylindrical pipes. The air column also vibrates and the pitch of the resulting sound is settled by the air column. The coupling between the reed and pipe must be tight; otherwise the reed will escape from its bondage and vibrate with its natural frequency. The "quack" heard sometimes when an unskilful player plays on the Nadhaswaram is due to the natural vibration of the reed. The conical pipe will be provided with said holes. Different notes are played by covering these side holes appropriately. The pipe in the Nadhaswaram will be from two to two and a half feet long. The longer the pipe the lower will be its 'sruti' or starting point in the musical scale. The pipe is made either in wood or metal. Silver and gold are the metals usually chosen. If wood is taken a close grained wood is preferred. In South India "Acha" wood is taken. The pipe usually contains twelve side holes eight in one line and the remaining four being distributed on both sides of this line near the bottom. Only seven holes are used for fingering. The others are intended to regulate the pitch of the instrument.

The tonal qualities of these reed instruments depends upon a number of factors. The air column, the material and shape of the pipe are the major factors controlling the quality. Since the clarinet pipe is cylindrical with one end closed, the tones possible form an odd harmonic series. In the case of oboe and Nadhaswaram the possible tones form a full harmonic series as their pipes are conical. This difference in shape of the pipes of the clarinet and oboe is mainly responsible for the difference in the tonal qualities of the clarinet family and oboe family. If the clarinet is over-blown the first overtone obtained is the twelfth above the prime and not the octave as in the case of oboe and Nadhaswaram. Hence a sufficient number of side holes and keys must be provided in the clarinet to bridge this gap. The bell-shaped end

is the next important factor. Its influence diminishes when several of the lower note holes are open. The widening out of the pipe at the bell end has been found to introduce, even partials to a certain extent which are absent in the case of clarinet and to reinforce them in the case of Nadhaswaram and oboe. It has also been found to reduce the intensity of the higher partial tones. The more important influence is that it helps to radiate the sound more efficiently in the atmosphere. The way in which the material of the pipe affects the tonal quality is not yet completely understood. Though theoretically the air column and the reed alone form the vibrating system, experiment has shown that if the walls of the pipe are sound absorbent there is a slight lowering of pitch as compared with a rigid wall. More than this effect the tone is made weak and heavily damped if the walls are sound absorbent. Much of the energy of the player is used up in setting up vibration in the walls instead of the column of air. So efficiency in the production of sound goes with metal pipes rather than with wooden pipes. It has also been found that the more rigid the walls are the greatest is the possibility of the pipe having marked natural frequencies. This leads to and enhancement of notes in certain regions of the scale and thus the quality is affected. Nadhaswaram seems to have no parallel to it in its tonal quality among the indigenous instruments. It possesses a highly pleasing and rich sound. It can be heard distinctly even at great distance. It is said that Carnatic music owes not a little to this instrument for its preservation. Ragas, the peculiar feature of the Carnatic music, can be played for hours together in this instrument without becoming stale. Its influence on other kinds of instrumental music and vocal music has become considerable in recent times. Above all it is the only indigenous instrument that fills the ears of large masses of people with high class music.



MR. G. A. NATESAN, Founder and Proprietor  
G. A. Natesan & Co., and Editor, the *Indian Review*, Madras.



15-7-47

N Delhi

Dear Natesan,

Anne - bharikh

Sharma - told me

you were ill &

~~not~~ ~~replied~~ you

have no business

to be ill your

work is not

finished. Who is

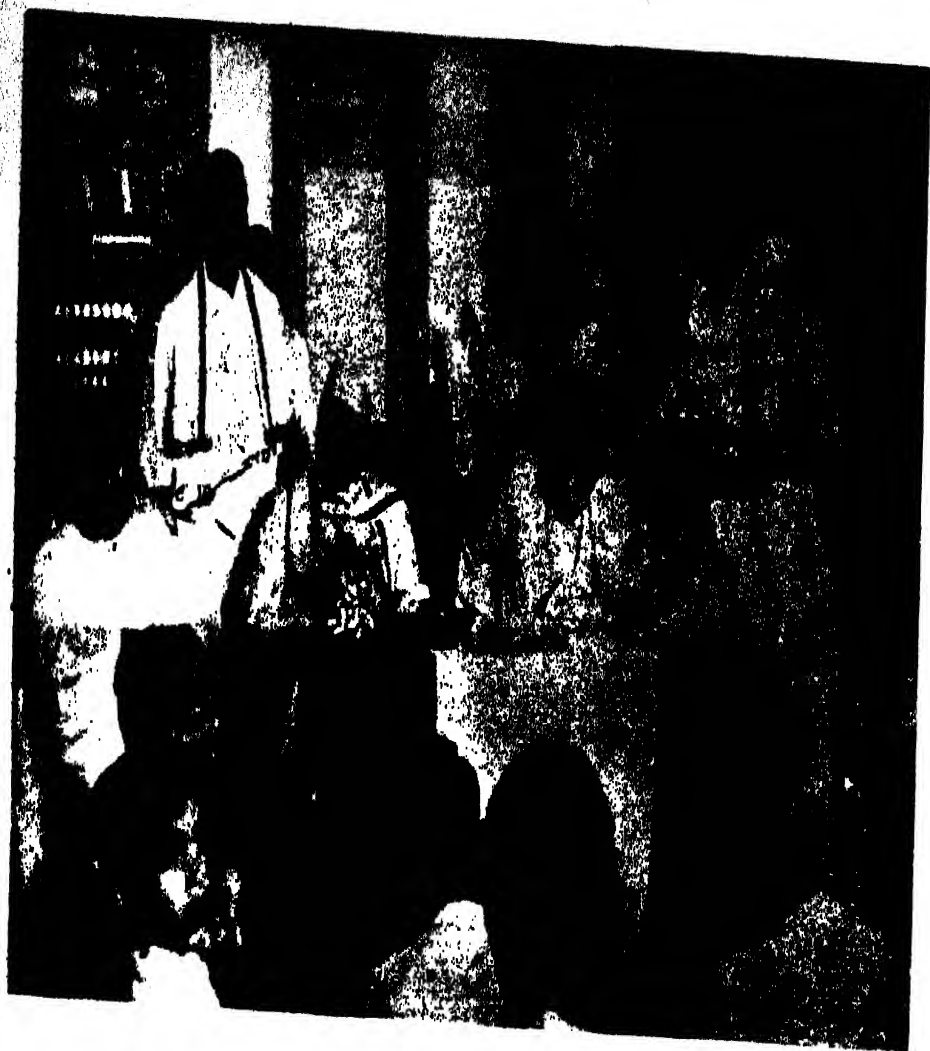
older - you or I ?

Yours truly

M K Gandhi



Prof. K. B. Ramenathan, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Rt. Hon. Sastru, Mr. G. A. Vaidyaraman (1907)



Public Address presented to Mr. G. A. Nateean on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee  
of Messrs. Nateean & Co., on 12th July by the Sheriff of Madras.

# GOLDEN JUBILEE

OF

## G. A. NATESAN & CO.

THE tradition of a house of literature, so common in England, represented by such well-known names as Longmans, Murray, and Macmillan, is yet to grow in India. It is something of a rarity, therefore, for a firm of publishers in this country to display an unbroken record of steady progress for fifty years and to show evidence of continuing vitality. It is rarer still for the founder of an institution to live to participate in its Golden Jubilee. Mr. G. A. Natesan, head of the publishing house of Natesan's, is by all accounts singularly fortunate in this respect: and it is but fitting that such a unique record should be commemorated by the generous public in a manner worthy of the occasion.

A public address was presented to Mr. Natesan in commemoration of this unique occasion, at a meeting held at the Ranade Hall, Mylapore, Madras under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. Chandrasekhara Iyer on Saturday the 12th July when eloquent tributes were paid to Mr. Natesan on his fifty years' record of service through his publishing house.

The function was organised by an influential "Golden Jubilee Committee" consisting of Mr. T. Sundara Rao Naidu, the Mayor, Mr. S. Ramaswami Naidu, the Sheriff, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, C.I.E., Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Editor, the *Swadesamitran*, Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer, Advocate, Professor K. Swaminathan, Mr. R. K. Murthi, Director, T. A. Taylor & Co., and others and was attended by several prominent citizens including members of the Bench and Bar, businessmen, journalists, educationists, and leaders of political parties. Along with the address which was enclosed in a beautifully designed gold inlaid frame was also presented a Souvenir in the shape of a tastefully bound volume giving an account of the works published by the firm during the last five decades.

Proposing Mr. Justice Chandrasekhara Iyer to the Chair, Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri expressed the hope that the function would help Mr. Natesan to recover his usual health and to be again his old self and live to see the Diamond Jubilee of the firm also celebrated.

### MESSAGES

Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Secretary of the Golden Jubilee Committee then read messages received for the occasion from Mrs. Sarjoni Naidu, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar and others. These and extracts from letters and telegrams subsequently received are recorded herein:

*Srimati Sarjoni Naidu, Madras:* "To my dear old friend Natesan and his workers: Cordial greetings and congratulations on fifty golden years of steadfast national service."

*Dr. C. Rajagopalachari, New Delhi:* "... my congratulations and presence in spirit." ... You have seen in your life-time Indian Independence and a Parliamentary Act recognising and establishing it.

*Srimati Kamaladevi:* In India the tradition of a house of literature is still rare. That domain was for long the monopoly of English concerns. Of late numerous publishing ventures have sprung up. It is too early to say how many of them will show the sturdiness of strength and vitality so essential for continuance, growth and permanence.

One such enduring and commendable venture is that of the House of Natesan's, probably the earliest and undoubtedly the sturdiest pioneer in this field. Born in the twilight of the late eighties which marked the passing away of the old and the birth of the new atomic century, it was a courageous experiment that only the exuberant optimism of Mr. Natesan and his iron determination could have pushed ahead and brought it to the success it has been, to take its place, an honoured place, not only in the Province but in the entire national life of the country.

It aimed from the start at a high quality and certain unique features such as the popular, handy and within easy reach of every man, lives of prominent national leaders and foreign friends of India, their speeches and writings, brochures on topical economic, social and political issues. But above all, the concentration of political subjects at that formative growth of the freedom movement in the country, no doubt contributed very largely to its general progress.

Himself an active and prominent politician at the time, Mr. Natesan was in a position to further the maturing of Indian politics through

this vital arm he had so powerfully and effectively developed in the nature of a steady flow of literature.

This was further re-inforced by the inauguration of the *Indian Review* which has found an abiding place among the national journals of the country through nearly half a century of uninterrupted service.

The commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of the House of Natesan's is also the celebration of a significant epoch in India's history. It can be no accident that it coincides with the dawn of India's freedom. In fact it is this realisation which is the most fitting tribute to the service done by the institution of Mr. Natesan. One can but say on this happy occasion

"Long live the House of Natesan's."

Sir M. Vinayavaraya, Bombay: "Warm felicitations on occasion of Golden Jubilee of your Firm. Public good has ever been your aim."

Rt. Hon'ble Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Allahabad in a letter addressed to the Golden Jubilee Committee: "I have had the pleasure of knowing him—my old and respected friend Mr. G. A. Natesan—for about 35 years during which I have held him in great regard for his devotion to the public, his balanced judgment and progressive views. The firm of Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., is well known in all parts of India. It has issued very useful literature from time to time. I trust the firm will have an uninterrupted successful career in future. As regards Mr. Natesan himself I desire to convey to him through you my sincere wishes for his long life and prosperity."

Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, Sandur: "You were a pioneer in the field when you started your undertaking and you have done work which has not only been of profit to the firm, but also of benefit to the public. I trust that you will live long so that you might be an elder in the field to people who follow you."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Trivandrum: I wish the function all success."

Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Allahabad: "Those of us who were young, when a wave of nationalism swept over India after the partition of Bengal remember with gratitude the valuable literature bearing on Indian political, social and economic questions published by your firm. You were the one man whom we looked up to in those days for biographies of our political leaders and the books that we needed to develop and sustain our nationalism."

Mr. K. M. Munshi, Bombay: "Heartly congratulations on your Golden Jubilee. Wish you long and arduous public services."

Dr. Sachidananda Sinha, Ranchi: "Heartiest felicitations and good wishes."

Prof. A. R. Wadia, Gwalior: "How pleased I am as an old friend of yours to see you honoured. It is not given to all to work for fifty years in so unstable a line as journalism. That you have succeeded speaks volumes for your grit and intelligence."

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: "Many of us learnt our first lessons in public affairs through the interesting publications made by the firm."

Hon. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan: "Let me take this occasion for expressing my heart-felt appreciation of the good services which Mr. Natesan has done to the public of this Province."

Dr. Sir Rm. Alagappa Chettiar: "It is difficult to think of this firm without at the same time thinking of its illustrious sponsor, Mr. Natesan himself and his two well-known sons Ambi and Chandru who have done so much for the building up of this concern and who can rightly take a pride upon their achievement..."

I am also very happy to join in the tributes being paid to one of our nestors of Indian Politics. To Natesan belongs the rare distinction of having been among the first of the Magi to herald the rise of the great Sun of India—to discover and interpret the light of its dawn in distant South Africa."

Mr. M. A. Srinivasan, Prime Minister, Gwalior, "Warmest congratulations and regards."

Mr. B. Gopala Reddi, Minister for Finance, Madras: "Mr. Natesan's services for the Province, especially in the field of journalism and publications is unique and is excelled by none. The *Indian Review* under Mr. Natesan's editorship served India's cause for decades and has taken its place among the best journals of the country. It is indeed fitting that a public address is being presented to this savant and veteran. I wish the function grand success."

Hon. T. N. Arunachalam, Minister Madras: "While congratulating you for your services to the country till now, I wish you a long and happy life of further service to the country."

Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastriar, Retired Judge: ".....The Firm has rendered peerless service to the cause of India's ancient culture and also to the cause of the dissemination of modern knowledge in diverse directions."

Mr. E. A. Heath, Director, P. Orr & Sons expressed his "great pleasure in congratulating Mr. G. A. Natesan on the commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of his firm and trust that it will continue to prosper."

Mr. B. W. Batchelor, Binny & Co., Madras: Wishes "to send his best wishes for success of the function and the future of the Company."

Dr. P. V. Pathy, Bombay in a wire to Mr. Manian Natesan: "Congratulations, Golden Jubilee. My homages to your venerable father."

Chief Justice T. M. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Trivandrum: "Permit me to associate myself with you in conveying to Mr. Natesan the due meed of thankful appreciation and sincere congratulations for the great good work done by his Firm and sincere congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee"

Mr. Nilkan Perumal, Editor-in-Charge, "The Whip," Calcutta: "I take it a privilege to offer you my humble and respectful congratulations... I myself have been reading from childhood days

my first lessons on Indian affairs, from the literature you have published. Equally, thousands in this country are indebted to you for the very valuable books that your Publishing House had been putting forth during the last half a century with commendable enterprise."

*Mr. G. Solomon, Secretary, Y M C A, Madras* "Heartiest congratulations and best wishes for the future of the firm"

*Mr. D V. Gundappa, Bangalore* "As I think of the Golden Jubilee of the great firm built up by your patriotic impulse and power of organization, the words of Morley come to my mind "The great publisher is a sort of Minister of Letters, and is not to be without the qualities of a statesman" I am grateful to recall how as a student I profited from your ministry. It was given to you to be the pioneer in the production of what may be called our Nationalist literature. How greatly we are indebted to your enterprise for the education of the public in Congress ideas and ideals, how very much your work has contributed to our cultural renaissance, and how vastly a good many of our leading public figures are your debtors for the position they are able to hold in the eyes of the public are matters beyond calculation."

*Sir Sankar Lall, New Delhi* "Congratulates Mr G A Natesan and his firm for their continued success and prays for greater success in years to come."

*Mr R Balasundaram, Editor, "Doodh" and "Sri News"* "On this occasion, Sir, let me offer my sincere prayer that the sons of Rao Bahadur Natesan would carry on the sublime work started by the great father, in the same spirit of love for India and service to its past holy Sevas."

*Mr R Swaminatha Ayyar, Retd Headmaster, Kumbakonam* "You have indeed been in the past 50 years ministering to the varying tastes, desires and aims of the Reading Public both here and abroad by your wonderfully varied articles, notes and publications, large and small. It speaks volumes for your nice perception of what the public would naturally desire to know as well as what kind of knowledge they should value most and also for your wonderful capacity to accomplish what you design."

*Lala Sri Shri Ram, New Delhi* "Please accept my heartiest congratulations on the Golden Jubilee of the establishment of your Firm. May it go on progressing from success to success."

*Mr. G R. Venkatram, Editor, "New India", Benares* "Mr G. A. Natesan—and who in South India does not know of his great patriotism and noble services to the country for half a century—has enriched the public life of our country in so many ways that it is hardly possible for the public to express their gratitude to him adequately. The Firm bearing his name is indeed a standing monument to his noble and selfless services to the national cause, and rich in life and service that Mr Natesan has already, been for half a century, I and my colleagues wish him many more years of such happy and useful life. He is indeed a glorious son of India."

*Mr. M. Chalapathi Rao, Editor, "National Herald" Lucknow* "I want to pay my tribute, among others, to you for the unique service you have rendered to the publishing business and for your contribution to the public life of Madras. The esteem is widely felt among friends in the several parts of the country among people who have known you and of your work, and I think you should know how much we feel we are indebted to you. As a student of many years in Madras and as a young journalist, I owe my political education to you, however indirectly, and I feel grateful."

*Prof D V Gokhale, Poona* "All those who know the intrinsic contribution of the *Indian Review* to the advancement of our mother country will join with full hearts in celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the *Review* and wishing it a greater success. We will not forget your contribution through the *Review* to the advancement of India and take this opportunity to wish you health and many prosperous years to come to guide the New India."

After conveying the greetings and goodwishes of friends and admirers from far and near Mr Srinivasan went on to observe

Before I take seat, let me take this opportunity of adding my tribute to the worthy firm founded by Mr G A Natesan. As Mr Venkatarama Sastry pointed out, it is rarely given to a man to see the cause he has laboured for prosper, and to see his own firm which he himself founded, celebrate its Golden Jubilee.

Mr Natesan's work has to be judged from the background of the conditions under which he began. At that time, it required very great courage to forge a path for himself and found an institution which we think to-day is the best of its type. It may be said that after all, it is only a business that he has founded and in the success of that business, he has also contrived for the success of the cause for which that business has stood so far. I may, however, point out that there is a vital distinction between the art of publicity and the art of publication. The art of publicity may merely make men great but the art of publication can also make great men greater. And it requires a genius, a gift, to discover talent which is budding up and to place the fruits of that talent before the people in order that the best in the readers can be harnessed to the service of the motherland. Having made so many men great, surely it is the duty of people who have profited by his service, to make him also great, and it is to show our mark of esteem and good will towards him that we have met here to-day to present this address, a very humble address, which is but a very small appreciation of his services.

#### PRESENTATION OF ADDRESS

The Chairman then called upon Mr. S Ramaswami Naidu, Sheriff of Madras, to read the address on behalf of "many

friends in India and abroad." The following is the text of the address which was enclosed in a beautiful gold inlaid frame and presented to Mr Natesan

To Mr G A Natesan, (Founder and Proprietor G. A. Natesan & Co., and Editor, *The Indian Review*) Madras

Sir,  
On behalf of your numerous friends and admirers, it is our pleasure and privilege to felicitate you on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Firm that bears your honoured name

Founded on the Vijayadasami Day in 1897, the Firm of G A Natesan & Co has flourished these fifty years under your fostering care. From this fountain head has flowed and still continues to flow a steady stream of books and pamphlets, handy and readable biographies of eminent Indians and friends of India, the speeches and writings of many among them, Congress Presidential Addresses, brochures on economic, political social and educational problems, books on Hindu Dharma and on Indian saints and on the World Teachers of religions and abridgments and translations of our ancient classics sacred and secular. This output of leading matter and your ever punctual and unsided monthly *The Indian Review* have served as a medium of popular education for two generations of Indians.

Fifty years ago, there was little public spirit in India, as indeed throughout Asia, and the continual stream of literature that has emanated from your Firm has fostered a spirit of patriotism and devotion to our national heritage which has stood us in good stead during the stormy years we have passed through. Your publications have been in part the cause and in part the consequence of the nation's renaissance. It is matter for pride and thankfulness that the growth and progress of the country as a whole. Many of us who are present here have been brought up on the nourishing milk of patriotic literature which issued from your publishing house.

A pioneer in the publication of patriotic literature your example has been followed by many others with varying success, a fact which must be a source of great joy to you.

To have founded a Firm of this beneficent character, to have guided many young ardent minds in the pursuit of culture and patriotism and sustained their public spirit for fifty years—and above all to see the Golden Jubilee of the Firm you founded—is a rare good fortune in which we heartily rejoice and on which we felicitate you with equal heartiness.

We pray that the institution you have built up with such loving care and devotion may long continue to serve the public and that it may also prove a source of prosperity and pride to your successors.

With best wishes for the future of your Firm and for your own health and happiness,

We remain  
Sir,

YOUR MANY FRIENDS  
IN INDIA AND ABROAD

*The Chairman:* "Gentlemen, along with the address is being presented to Mr Natesan what is called "A Golden Jubilee Retrospect," a booklet written by Mr B Natesan. You will see from the wrapper itself that it is really a Golden Jubilee Number, and its contents are very interesting and give the history of the firm *vis-a-vis* the political progress of this land. The booklet is also presented to Mr Natesan."

Mr Natesan was then garlanded profusely amidst loud and continuous cheering. The Chairman was also garlanded.

MR JUSTICE N. CHANDRASEKARA IYER'S  
SPEECH

*The Chairman then proceeded:* "It is a happy occasion on which we have met—for celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the firm founded by our talented friend Mr G A Natesan. The firm has to its credit a unique record of achievement. In fact, its history is closely interwoven with the history of the fight for India's freedom. It is a remarkable coincidence, indeed, that the Golden Jubilee should synchronise with the India Independence Bill, which places us at the threshold of freedom for which our most distinguished leaders have worked for decades. It is no tall claim when we assert that G A Natesan & Co, has played a large part in helping the progress of Indian Nationalism by undertaking the publication of cheap political literature and making it available even to the poorer classes amongst us. It is not alone in the field of politics that such good work has been done by the firm. Education, social reform, economic development—have all received equal attention at its hands. It is indeed difficult to exaggerate the magnitude or usefulness of the services rendered to the country's cause by G A Natesan & Co.

As pointed out in the Address, all of us have every reason to be proud that this firm has had such a useful career ever since it was founded and is still going strong. Of course, the credit for this goes to our friend Mr. Natesan who took to

business at a time when it was not considered fashionable and who strove hard to make a success of the job he undertook on his shoulders. With the help of numerous friends and well-wishers in all ranks of life, high and low, he has achieved remarkable success in his undertaking. He has brought to the discharge of his task unremitting industry and great energy as well as caution, tact and wise discretion. He has utilised these virtues to the fullest advantage and the result is that he has built up a prosperous business for himself and at the same time can lay just claim to having fostered the cause of all progressive movements in India converging towards nationalism and general cultural renaissance.

One quality in Mr. Natesan deserves special mention. He has a true genius for friendship. He has friends in every class of society and among men of all shades of opinion. Though a Moderate in politics, he is as patriotic as a full blooded nationalist. He has maintained friendly relations with men as removed from each other in their outlook and ideologies as Gandhi and Sivaswami Ayyar, Nehru and C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar. He has been able to do this because of his personal loyalties and his sincere attachment to those whom he has chosen as his friends. He may differ from them strongly and quarrel with them in private, but he would never allow a word to be said against them in public. Deep and abiding loyalty to persons and causes as well as gratitude for kindnesses received are the hallmarks of true culture. But it is sad to reflect that in the stress and the hurry and the turmoil of these times and the severe competitive struggle for existence which we have now to wage constantly if one is to exist, these virtues, also, are increasingly becoming rare.

Let me wind up by congratulating the firm on its bright record and Mr. Natesan for the success that has been his. Let us all fervently hope that in the evening of his life he will enjoy health and happiness.

and that his enterprising sons Manian and Chandran who have already taken the reins of the business in their hands will continue the work in the same spirit as their father and make the firm a centre of ever-increasing usefulness to themselves and the motherland. In the years to come there is plenty of scope for such work, if India is to take its proper place in the vanguard of progress. And we really need patriotic businessmen in larger numbers than at present. Enlightened self interest is quite compatible with sincere and earnest endeavour for common good. Many of our young men can take Mr. Natesan's career as an example and bend their intellects and energies to business careers, profitable to themselves and beneficent to the public."

#### MR. NATESAN'S REPLY

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chattri, Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Mr. Chandrasekhara Ayyar, Mrs. Rukmini Devi and friends.

In the present state of my health, I find it extremely difficult to give adequate expression to my feelings of gratitude to all those who have promoted and participated in this function. I realise how magnificent has been the tribute to the small services which the Firm that bears my name has rendered to the political, social and economic development of the country. It is one more illustration of the old saying 'how little the service and how rich the reward.' From my college days I have always reckoned it among other things as the good fortune of my life that I have been able to contact the lasting friendships of Indians and Europeans who have contributed not a little to the success of my enterprise.

Though this is quite a joyous occasion, so far as I am concerned, I should be less than human if I fail to mention to you the sad recollections that come to my mind. My good and beloved brother Vaidyaraman who helped me to start the business and almost sacrificed his health in watching its progress from day to day, Srinivasa Sastry and K. B. Ramanathan who toiled for two successive years in piloting the *Indian Review*, V. C. Seshaiahariar, G. Venkataranga Rao and C. V. Muniswami Iyer who took more than an ordinary interest in advancing me and the interests of my firm, Prof. Rangachariar, my never failing adviser, V. Krishnaswami Iyer with whom I was associated in all the activities of the day—all these and many others have a claim to the tributes that have been paid to the service which my Firm is said to have rendered. On this occasion I also recall to my mind the inspiring association and influence of leaders like Swami Vivekananda, Gokhale, Sir Phiroze Shah



Mehta, Dr. Annie Besant, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir William Wedderburn and that saint among Englishmen—O. F. Andrews.

It is hardly necessary for me to mention my very early contact and abiding friendship with Mahatma Gandhi, Sir P. B. Sivaswami Aiyer, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, and Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar.

Another factor that is chiefly responsible for the little success my Firm was able to achieve has been my good fortune in getting faithful and devoted assistants. May I now turn to acknowledge publicly my great indebtedness to one who joined my Firm thirty-five years ago and who has given all that is best and noble in him to further the progress of my business. I may be pardoned on an occasion like this to single him out and mention Mr. B. Natesan as the chief prop of my Firm, whose character has been a greater asset to me than even his literary ability and abounding generosity.

Friends, perhaps it is time I bring these desultory remarks to a close. Twenty-five years ago I was the recipient of a Public Address on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the *Indian Review*. In this very Hall, fourteen years ago under the presidency of the late lamented Rt. Hon. Sastri, I was presented with a Public Address felicitating me on the completion of my sixtieth year, and it is now hardly four years since I received congratulations on my 71st Birthday in this very Hall under the presidency of Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, the Vice-Chancellor of our University. And to day, under the same roof, I find I am the recipient of yet another token of your kindness and generosity. What greater reward could one like me expect at the hands of his fellow countrymen? I feel I have not lived my life in vain. I can only pray that in the few years that Providence may vouchsafe me I may not in anyway prove myself unworthy of the overwhelming kindness and affection that have been heaped on me from the beginning of my career. This handsome souvenir you have given me to day is certainly a source of great pride to me. And to my sons I would say, my dear boys, remember this is a warning to you so to conduct yourselves as to deserve the good will and the affection of all my good friends.

#### VOTE OF THANKS

Mr. K. Balasubramania Iyer, proposing a vote of thanks to the chair, began by reading Dr. Sir Alagappa Chettiar's message which was just then handed to him. After reading the message, he went on to say:

On this happy occasion, let us first of all convey to Mr. Natesan our hope and our heartfelt wishes that he will soon recover his normal health and that the Diamond Jubilee of his firm

will be celebrated and that he will remain in good health to see the celebration, here possibly in this very hall, or elsewhere. It gives me peculiar pleasure to join in this celebration of the Golden Jubilee, because I happen to be a son of one of his intimate and principal friends. I am sure that his spirit will be here this evening, and all of us who know him, are sure that his was not a quiet and calm spirit but an emotional spirit and that if possible, it can manifest itself now and join this function, with his relations and others.

I am also happy that all of us who have come here to celebrate the function because Mr. Natesan has rendered unique services to the cause of Indian nationalism and to the cause of the spread and promotion of our classical literature. On the latter, I would lay special emphasis. His first and foremost service was he printed and published copies of a Bhagavat Gita translation and circulated them throughout the country—the translation was made by Dr. Besant. The message of the Gita was brought home to all our countrymen by this great service. He has also translated and published many more classics like the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, the *Bhagavatha*, and others. It is on this latter piece of service that I would lay special emphasis, both on my own behalf and on behalf of many friends here; because it is this rare work that has not been done by many previously, and it has fallen to the lot of Mr. Natesan to do it. I am happy for this reason and I am sure many of his friends who are here would personally express their sense of joy on this occasion. I am afraid the strength of Mr. Natesan's heart is not equal to that of his body, because my feeling is that he feels more ill than what he really is. Many friends come and tell him that he is really ill and there are many friends who are interested in him, and therefore they come and tell him like that, and so he feels sometimes that he is more ill than what he really is. I am glad the doctor is here to testify to it that he is not so ill as he thinks he is. Therefore, I am sure the good wishes of all his friends will hearten him to do more work especially to his firm.

I am thankful to all of you, friends, for having assembled here on this occasion in such numbers. It is not right on our part that we should prolong this function, lest it should give trouble to Mr. Natesan by having to sit here longer than is absolutely necessary. (*Loud cheers*)

Before the meeting terminated the workmen of the firm of Natesan's led by one Kannappa Mudaliar who had given seven and forty years to the service of the Company, presented fruits and flowers and garlanded the three proprietors Mr. Natesan senior and his two sons, Manian and Chandran,

# 50 YEARS OF PATRIOTIC LITERATURE

By MR. S. P. THYAGARAJAN

THERE was a noble celebration in Madras, when glowing tributes were paid to Mr. G. A. Natesan for helping the growth of Indian nationalism through his publications. The occasion was the golden jubilee of his firm which publishes *The Indian Review*. The Sheriff of Madras, an office which Mr. Natesan himself had once filled with grace and honour, presented him with a public address.

Fifty years is a long span of mortal life to look back upon. Young Natesan took his degree from the Presidency College about the year 1894; and at a time when the mania for Government service had such a hold on young men, especially of the small community of Tanil Brahmins in the South to which he belonged he boldly struck out a line for himself as printer and publisher. He soon became an important figure among the secondary strata of our public men in those formative years of our politics. In the altered political set-up of the present day and in the revolutions that have come over both the printing and the publishing worlds, it is difficult to appreciate the courage of a young man who set out fifty years ago, with but a little patrimony aided by enormous courage, to educate the public on the lives and teachings of India's statesmen, judges, saints. Not only that. He was the first to popularise Indian sacred literature. And all this amazing welter of literary and patriotic output was priced low enough to reach the common man. In this way his influence was far and away greater than that of those who in high-heeled cothurnus strode across the footlights of our national theatre in those early years.

## VARIED INTERESTS

And the further noteworthy points about Mr. Natesan are the wide catholicity of his interests, the range of his friendships and the absolute bonhomie with which he wormed his way into the confidence of the high and the low. The gawky unsocial

manners of many otherwise excellent public workers were never his. Since his college days he had developed a breezy self-confidence and the spirit of unflagging devotion to public causes. The many who were fed primarily on his "review" and the crop of what used to be called Natesan's national literature can never forget how prodigal he was in serving the cause of the country. He was long the treasurer of the South African Indian Fund that fed in its own way the stream of the passive resistance movement launched by the Mahatma. I well remember even today how we all had huddled together one day in 1915 to hear the great hero from South Africa, then in his Indian toga, with the turban on his head, preaching cross-legged from Mr. Natesan's upstairs hall on his business premises. Politics had not made any differences to his friendships or his devotion to any worth-while public cause. He had been closely associated with national leaders of every hue and colour; and should he devote the evening of his days to hand us down his reminiscences, we shall have stories of absorbing interest about Gokhale, Mehta, Tilak, Dinshaw Wacha, Besant, Sastri, Krishnaswami Iyer, Wedderburn, Andrews and Mahatma Gandhi, not to prolong the list unduly. He has now overtaken by three years the psalmist's allotted span of human life. Yet neither in his gait, nor in his conversation, nor yet again in his bubbling enthusiasm for humanitarian causes would he yield the palm to any many years younger than he. An unflagging devotion to work, combined with a keen eye for business, the soft word to any one, the avoidance of the tendency to snatch the last word in a conversation; on the other hand meticulous regard for his own work, his respect for others and their susceptibilities: these have been among the secrets of a long life of useful public labour.

## PATRIOTIC FAMILY

He is happy in the two sons that in recent years have lightened the burdens of

business for him. One of them was secretary of the last session of the A. I. N. E. C.; and both of them inherit in ample measure their father's broad humanity and deep patriotism. But no reference to Mr. Natesan will be complete that omits to recall to memory his revered elder brother, Mr. G. A. Vaidya Raman, who stood to him in the position of a father, mentor and friend. The chances of his life, as an overworked official in the Finance Secretariat, kept him away from the public gaze: but eminent authorities like Sir Dinshaw Wacha held him in high regard and took care to ascertain his views on the country's intricate financial and economic problems. And it is nothing secret that the late great editor and maker of the *Hindu*, Mr. S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, held him in warm regard and consulted him over appointments to his staff. ~~As~~ as my own food fortune, when for a space he ran a financial and economic monthly, to have come under

his influence. For fourteen months we lived the life not indeed of master and employee, but of an elderly mentor placing the rich stores of his mind and the lessons of a life rich in experience of men and the study of books at the service of raw youth. It is rare indeed in these days, when stridency seems to be the hall-mark of wisdom and there are too many occupants of the Tripod, to come across a journalist of his tolerant outlook, manly judgment and mother-heart. The late great Kasturi Ranga Iyengar was in many respects remarkably of the same intellectual and moral make-up. No doubt the fostering care of his "Ayyan" had much to do with the shaping of Mr. Natesan's life. Justice Chandrasekhara Iyer was not guilty of exaggeration when he assured the Mylapore audience that Mr. Natesan's life and his firm's history were closely interwoven with the history of the fight for India's freedom.—[ *National Standard*. ]

## INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT

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ON Friday July 18, the Indian Independence Bill received the assent of the King. The purpose of the Bill is to implement the decision of Great Britain to transfer power to the people of India. Apart from certain obvious defects and gaps in the Bill, which wisdom and statesmanship and some forbearance on the part of the contracting parties could have avoided, the Bill is on the whole a great achievement in itself. At one stroke it ends two centuries of British domination. No doubt it has split the country and encouraged fissiparous tendencies but the main fact remains that it marks the ending of an era and the opening of a new era of great hopes and boundless opportunities. It is at once the greatest achievement of India and the greatest act of voluntary relinquishment of power by a country, for which there are few parallels in the history of nations.

Never, again, has a measure of such momentous and far reaching character rushed through both the Houses of Parliament with such speed and unanimity and passed into Law. The Bill was presented to the House of Commons on July 4—a significant date which marks the declaration of American independence—passed the second reading on the 10th, and the third on the 15th. The next day it was approved by the Lords; and on the 18th received the Royal Assent.

### Main Provisions of the Bill

Two Independent Dominions, known as India and Pakistan, will come into existence on August 15, 1947 under the provisions of the Indian Independence Bill passed by the Parliament.

The Dominion of Pakistan will include the territories which on August 15 are included in the Provinces of East Bengal and West Punjab.

Bengal, as constituted under the Government of India Act of 1935, will cease to exist. Two new provinces, East Bengal and West Bengal, will come into existence.

"A Governor-General for each Dominion will be appointed by the King, unless the Legislature of either Dominion decides that the same person may be Governor-General of both Dominions.

Full power to make laws both for internal and extra-territorial operation will be vested in each of the legislatures of the new Dominions, and no law will be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to British Law.

The British Government will give up on August 15 all responsibility for the Government of any of the territories at present included in British India.

The Bill provides that no Provincial Bill can be reserved under the 1935 India Act for the King's approval and that the King cannot disallow any Provincial Act.

The Governor-General is empowered to make such provision as he thinks fit for "bringing the provisions of the Act into effective operation."

Orders to be made by the Governor-General will provide for the division of the Indian armed forces between the two Dominions. The Governor-General will make provision for the command and discipline of the forces until the division is complete.

Jurisdiction of the British Government over any British forces remaining in either Dominion after the transfer of power is completed will not be affected by the Indian Independence Bill.

The Bill authorises a Secretary of State or other Minister of the Crown to continue for the time being the functions carried out at present by the Secretary of State for India.

As in the case of Bengal, the Province of Punjab will cease to exist and in the place there will be two new provinces known as West Punjab and East Punjab.

The boundaries of the new provinces will be determined by awards of Boundary Commissions appointed by the Governor-General.

Provision is made in the Bill for the District of Sylhet in Assam Province to become part of the new province of East Bengal, which is to form part of the Dominion of Pakistan, if the people of Sylhet decide this by referendum.

No Act of Parliament passed by the United Kingdom on or after the day of partition, will have effect in the new Dominions.

Already some of these provisions have been given effect to, while Lord Mountbatten's drive and initiative are bearing fruit in the speedy fulfilment of the plan according to schedule. The referendum in

Sylhet and the Frontier has settled the issue for these territories; the armed forces have been partitioned; and Commissions for the demarcation of boundaries and the settlement of assets and liabilities are busy working out their decisions. And if things move in this fashion, there is no doubt, complete settlement will be reached even before the time limit fixed by the British Premier.

### The Second Reading

Moving the second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons, Mr. C. R. Attlee, the Prime Minister, expressed the earnest hope that the partition of India "may not endure". He took the opportunity to announce that Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah has been recommended as Governor-General of Pakistan and the present Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, as Governor-General of India. Both recommendations, he said, came from the Indian leaders themselves.

Speaking directly on the Indian States, Mr. Attlee said he hoped they would in due course "find their proper place within one or other of the two Dominions within the British Commonwealth." "If any Indian State decided to cut adrift and assert its independence," Mr. Attlee said "I would say to the Ruler of that state: 'Take your time. Think again. And I hope no irrevocable decision to stay out will be taken permanently'."

Describing the Independence Bill as "not abdication but the fulfilment of Britain's mission in India," Mr. Attlee said it was very rare for one nation which had enjoyed power over another "to surrender it voluntarily." Other recommendations made by Mr. Attlee were:

The withdrawal of British troops from India will be carried out as quickly as possible to be completed by the end of this year.

A Minister for Commonwealth Relations to assist in the change-over will be appointed.

A Tribunal will be set up to deal with questions regarding the division of assets and liabilities on which the two new Dominions cannot reach agreement.

Leaders of the Indian parties have guaranteed the existing terms and conditions of service to all their employees, including Europeans.

The Constitutional change should not affect the civilian European community in India. The business community here will still have a role to play.

With the end of British control over India the office of Secretary of State for India will be abolished.

Speaking on Premier Attlee's Motion, Mr. Harold Macmillan, Chief Conservative spokesman on the occasion, offered his Party's support to the measure and expressed the hope that

out of the darkness and uncertainty of recent years, India and Britain might be destined to follow together in friendship the road of co-operation and progress

Mr. Macmillan also expressed concern over the position of States which found it difficult to join either of the Indian Dominions.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, Under-Secretary for India, clarified points raised during the debate, and described the Bill as "an act of faith."

The Bill was given an unanimous second reading.

### Committee Stage of the Bill

Mr. Attlee made it clear in the House of Commons on July 14 that there was nothing in the wording of the Indian Independence Bill to modify the complete independence and autonomy of the Dominions of India and Pakistan which will come into existence on August 15

Questioned closely about the phrase "Independent Dominions" when the House went into Committee on the Bill, Mr. Attlee declared that

the term Dominion had been defined by the Statute of Westminster (1931) as meaning Complete Independence. The accepted theory of interdependence between the Dominions did not detract from that independence in any way.

Referring to Berar, Mr. Henderson said that

while Berar would undoubtedly *de jure* revert to Hyderabad the fact that it was now administered solely by the officials of the Government of India and Central Provinces made it obviously necessary for the Government of India to enter into discussions with the Nizam either to continue the existing arrangement or to replace the present set-up in the light of the legal position.

While the formal announcement must await the passing of the Bill, King George had intimated that he would be prepared to accept these recommendations as soon the India Independence Bill was passed.

### Third reading of the India Bill

The Bill was read the third time on July 15.

Introducing what he called "the last debate in this House on Indian affairs"—the third reading of the Indian Independence Bill—Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade and one of the members of the Cabinet Mission to India, declared that it would do more to create "a real and living friendship" with India than any other action which this country has ever taken."

Sir Stafford added that by giving independence to India, Britain was establishing her "honesty of democratic purpose."

At this moment, when we part with our suzerainty in India, we must express a sincere hope that the two new Dominions will enter into closest relations with one another and will come to work within the Commonwealth of Nations in a manner which will outweigh any particular or local consideration in India.

We have started to build the bridge between two great world civilisations which have much to learn from each other and should have much to contribute to one another.

The success which we can show the world in the years that lie ahead in this co-operation may well have profound effect upon world history.

I am introducing what will be the last debate in this House on Indian affairs.

Sir Stafford concluded with a fervent appeal.

In that great forward journey which begins on August 15, which will become for India an historic day, we wish them godspeed and we shall ever be by their side in time of difficulty to extend a helping hand.

Their leaders, who have struggled and suffered for the faith that was in them through the long and hard years, we salute now as fellow workers in the cause of world peace and progress. May the sun which has now arisen in their independence never set upon their freedom and prosperity.

Winding up the debate Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister, declared amidst acclamation of

approval from all parts of the House that Indians could count on 'the utmost sympathy and help from Britain without the slightest degree of patronage'.

Mr. Attlee said he was hopeful that partition would result in a federation in which the parts would have full scope and at the same time unity.

Thanking Parliament for realising the urgency of the legislation, Mr. Attlee said the Government wanted to get the new Governments at work. Everything now would depend on the statesmanship shown.

Earl Winterton who spent seven years in the India Office, winding up for the Opposition, pleaded for friendship between the two Indian Dominions and Britain.

Mr. Clement Davies, leader of the Liberal party, said this was a deeply emotional moment.

Mr. R. A. Butler (Conservative) emphasised that with this move Britain was showing that she was practising as well as preaching the principle of self-Government.

### The Bill in the House of Lords

The very next night, July 16, the House of Lords passed the Bill through all its stages. A former Viceroy (Lord Halifax) and two former Secretaries of State (Lord Pethick Lawrence and Lord Templewood) voiced their approval of the Bill.

A note of warning that India's defence might be "irrecoverably damaged" if the two defence forces "drifted into water-tight compartments" was sounded by Lord Templewood, who as Sir Samuel Hoare piloted through Parliament the 1935 Government of India Act.

Lord Listowel, present Secretary of State for India, emphasising that the move to give self-Government to India was an achievement which might well be the opening of a new chapter in the growth of freedom under British rule, declared that Britain's love of India and her desire to serve India were stronger than ever.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence, declared that while he believed the Cabinet Mission's plan had been the better one, he gave the new Bill his whole-hearted support because it had won the approval of the main political groups concerned.

The other recognised authority on India who took part in the debate was Lord Halifax, Viceroy from 1926 to 1931, who paid tribute to the work of the Labour Government and emphasised the benefits to India of remaining within the Commonwealth.

One of the few dissenting voices was that of Lord Selbourne, (Conservative), who declared that he regarded the future of India under this settlement as a relapse into that internecine warfare from which Britain rescued it. He would be surprised, he said, if other countries did not intervene in that warfare either openly or secretly.

### Royal Assent

The Indian Independence Bill creating two Dominions of India and Pakistan became Law (at 4-10 P.M. I. S. T.) on Friday July 18, when the Royal Commission conveyed King George's assent to the Bill in the House of Lords.

The Royal Commission consisted of five members, two more than the usual number, to mark the importance of the occasion.

### Premier's Message

Prime Minister Clement Attlee gave Renter his exclusive message to the people of India and Pakistan on the occasion of the Royal assent to the Indian Independence Bill.

On this memorable day when His Majesty has signified his assent to the Indian Independence Bill, I send, on behalf his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and of the British people, a message of goodwill and of heartfelt wishes for the future to all the peoples of the Indian continent.

In a few days, complete control of their affairs will have passed to the Indian people. I hope that the peoples of both countries may enter into a new course of friendship and may join together with others in building up a peaceful and prosperous world.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

By MR. B. NATESAN

## The Partition of India

SO the Independence Act has made the Partition of India a settled fact. It is true we failed to reach a settlement ourselves in terms of a United India—and it passeth one's understanding how any settlement is possible when one of the parties is determined to secede—but it is tragic that Britain whose boast has been that she gave political unity and administrative uniformity to India for over a century should be a party to this deplorable act of vivisection, vivisection too of a kind that is altogether repugnant to any rational view of modern democratic thought. What would one think of a demand to cut up England into Catholic and Protestant counties?

But there is no use crying over spilt milk, and for the moment we must accept the situation as the lesser of the two evils. There are, of course, infinite possibilities of mischief in the future but the good sense of the statesmen at the helm of affairs may be expected to guide us in safety.

## August 15: Independence Day

All the same the day of Liberation is a day of rejoicing and the Congress Committee rightly advise that August 15 should be celebrated in a fitting and solemn manner. In a well worded resolution, giving apt expression to the feelings of the country in the matter, the Working Committee welcome the ending of foreign domination in India and the dawn of freedom for which her people have laboured and suffered for generations.

That freedom has come in a manner which does not bring full joy with it for it is accompanied by the secession of some parts of the country and the breaking up of the living unity of India which nature, history and tradition had fashioned, and which was firmly tied up with the ideal of freedom. The Committee believe that the destiny of India is yet to be realised and that, when passions have cooled, a new and stronger unity based on good will and co-operation will emerge.

The Committee realise fully that the ending of British rule in India is an event of historic and world significance.

## The Dastardly Attempt on Sir C. P.

The attempt on the life of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, is one of those dastardly crimes that have begun to be too common in this country. Such shocking acts of vandalism are revolting to a people whose habits of life and thought are so pronouncedly peace-loving. Where is the need for such wickedness when we have living proof to-day of the power of non-violence in winning the freedom of India? If the assassins had any political motive do they really think they can succeed by such diabolical methods? Have the tragic happenings in Burma no lesson for these miscreants? The cold blooded murder of a whole Cabinet has not shaken the new Government. On the other hand it has given it fresh momentum to pursue its path undeterred by acts of wickedness and folly. We trust that the lesson will be brought home to the minds of the gangsters, and Sir C. P. himself will soon be restored back to health and will live long to wean the people from anti-social acts.

## Lord Mountbatten's Call to the Princes

In settling the Indian issue it was a mistake to have left the position of the States hanging as it were in mid air.

Lord Mountbatten the Viceroy has therefore done well to renew the appeal to the Princes to join the Indian Union, without further delay. Addressing the Conference of Princes, Lord Mountbatten said:

The day of the transfer of power is very close at hand and, if you are prepared to come, you must come before the 15th of August. I have no doubt that this is in the best interests of the States and every wise Ruler and wise Government would desire to link up with the great Dominion of India on a basis which leaves you great internal autonomy and which at the same time gets rid of your worries and cares over External Affairs, Defence and Communications.

This is no hustling tactics, for as the Viceroy rightly warned:

You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

## War in Indonesia

A full scale war is on in the islands of Indonesia. Armed with fresh reinforcements from home, the Dutch authorities are carrying on operations against the Republic by land, sea, and air. The ostensible reason is the failure of negotiations. The Republic is resisting with what little strength it could muster.

Meanwhile the Government of India have expressed their grave concern at the renewal of hostilities and have urged the Governments of Britain and the United States to bring about an amicable settlement between the Dutch and the Indonesians.

Dr. Sutan Sharir, former Indonesian Premier, has come to India to enlist Indian support to the cause of the Republic.

The Dutch Government have submitted a memorandum to the United Nations defending their action in Indonesia. They allege that the Republican Government is not in a position to carry out the agreement signed with the Dutch.

Pandit Nehru has now announced that the Government of India have decided to make a formal approach to the United Nations with regard to the War in Indonesia. The Government of India, in token of their sympathy with the cause of the Indonesians, have also decided to terminate almost immediately the Dutch Air Services flying over India.

## Autonomy For French India

"French India must preserve its own individuality, with an autonomous territorial Government within the French Union", Mr. Lambert Saravane, told *Reuter's* correspondent in Paris on July 24.

'As far as French India is concerned, the problem must not be considered in terms of a conflict between France and India, but rather as a question of an adjustment of the political and administrative organisation in harmony with the political evolution of India in general', he said.

## Geneva Labour Conference

Of the many resolutions adopted last month at the International Labour Conference at Geneva the most important was perhaps that which laid down the basic principles of freedom of association. It was also decided that the proposal to set up machinery to safeguard freedom of association should be examined before next year. From this it would be but a logical step to a comprehensive system of international labour inspection, but it is not a step that is likely to come soon and certainly not before agreement is reached within subscribing countries as to what constitutes an efficient system of inspection.

## Will America Wage A Preventive War?

The French pre-war Premier, Paul Reynaud, said on July 26, that Russo-American rivalry had created a 'world situation so perilous that the question posed itself: "Is America going to wage a preventive war?"

He said that President Truman had affirmed that "he would not permit the establishment of new totalitarian regimes and Russia responded by pushing the iron curtain further towards the West." Russia's refusal to participate in European economic planning talks, has, created an extreme tension.'

## Murder Of Aung San Of Burma

The treacherous assassination of U. Aung San (with his colleagues in the Cabinet) robs Burma of a leader whose place will be difficult to fill and at a time when perhaps more than ever before in her history, there is need for a strong, popular leader to guide the country. If it was the intention of his murderers to follow up his murder and those of his colleagues with a bid to seize power by force—and it is unlikely that this premeditated crime was an isolated act of political revenge—their attempt has been foiled by the swift action taken by Sir Hubert





# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**IQBAL: THE POET AND HIS MESSAGE.** By Sachchidananda Sinha—Ram Lall, Allahabad. Price Rs. 8.

The aim of this author is to give us a critical estimate of Iqbal's works, as distinguished from the laudatory estimate, which generally prevailed when the poet was alive. Dr. Sinha has brought to bear on his task his vast learning, his powers of impressive argumentation and his scrupulous fairness. But it should be confessed there is in his book too much of repetition, too many quotations from other writers and too elaborate a discussion of quite obvious points. The result is that, though the reader is in entire agreement with the author, he feels that the book is rather wearisome reading.

Iqbal was born at Sialkot in the Punjab on the 22nd February, 1873. His ancestors were Kashmiri Brahmans who were converted to Islam. His mother-tongue was Punjabee and not Urdu or Persian, the two languages in which he later composed his poems. Iqbal received his early education at the local school, then graduated from the Punjab University and took his M.A. degree in Philosophy in 1899. He served for some time in the Government College, Lahore, and then went to Cambridge in 1905 and took his Philosophical Tripos there. He was called to the English Bar in 1908 and on his return home practised as an advocate at Lahore. But he did not take his profession

seriously, being more absorbed in his literary pursuits. A knighthood was conferred on him in 1922 by the Government and the degree of Doctor of Literature in 1937 by the Allahabad University. He died in 1938 at the age 65.

Iqbal published altogether eight collections of Persian verse—including his first important work, *The Secrets of the Self*, which gives his philosophical ideas in a compendious form and which has been translated into English by R. A. Nicholson. He published also four collections of verse in Urdu. But his Persian poems are more important than his Urdu poems, though one of the latter viz., *Hamdustan Hamara* has become justly famous. There is however, no evidence to show that Iqbal succeeded in influencing the thought or culture of modern Iran. He has scarcely any place in the history of Persian Literature. He assumed in his later life the role of the poet of Islam and addressed in his poems only his non-Indian co-religionists. But they turned a deaf ear to him. For he had become a reactionary and, going back on all modern developments among Muslim nations, saw his ideal society only in a wide and independent "Muslim fraternity having the Kaaba as its centre and knit together by the love of Allah and devotion to the Prophet." He used his poetry mainly for purposes of religious propaganda and deservedly failed. From our point of view Iqbal's career is a piece of spiritual tragedy. Endowed with the poetic genius of a high order and beginning his literary career as an ardent poet of Indian nationalism, he drifted away from his mother tongue and his motherland and became only a voice in the wilderness crying aloud and in vain for a theological Utopia.

**WHAT GANDHI HAS DONE FOR INDIA.** With an introduction by B. L. Rallia Ram. Ilami Markaz, Lahore.

Here is a collection of articles on different aspects of Gandhiji's life and work, by different writers, presented in a handy, pocket volume. The book deals with the many-sided activities of Gandhiji's life and presents a vivid picture of his great work for India and the world. Needless to say that the contributions are all by competent and authoritative writers not the least of them being the compiler and Editor Mr. Rallia Ram himself. The Gandhian Era as a significant period of Indian history is dealt with by a student of Indian history. And then follow entertaining essays on his daily life and routine by Mr. K. Rama Rao and his work for the uplift of the villages by Bharatan Kumarappa. Mr. N. Natarajan has an essay on what Gandhiji has done for India. Other articles deal with his work for the Harijans, for women, for education and so on. Altogether we have an entertaining series of articles in this well conceived collection, of biographical and critical appreciation of Gandhiji's many-sided life and work.

**BETTER VILLAGES.** By F. L. Brayne. Oxford University Press, Madras. Rs. 2-4.

The author of this book Mr. Brayne was formerly Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction in the Punjab and has therefore first hand knowledge of the work in which he was officially engaged. Already his studies in rural uplift made popular in the well known series "Socrates in an Indian Village" have earned for him the reputation of a wise and sympathetic student of the needs and conditions of village life in India. Mr. Brayne, of course, deals with the many problems and perplexities of the village folk—their houses, farms, schools, health and cattle, women's, work, rural finance, village organisation and the rest of the many tasks that mean so much for their well being. But the essential plank in the uplift edifice, is to

create the right spirit amongst the village folk. This Mr. Brayne does with admirable discretion and understanding.

No wonder the book has already run through three editions. The present edition is enriched with a new chapter, "Winning the Peace"—a timely addition to this useful brochure. For as the author truly says:

We now have an opportunity to develop and "uplift" India which is unlikely ever to recede. We have organisations built up to assist the war effort and we have two million trained men. There is money and credit available. Cannot all this be harnessed to the great work of raising the whole standard of living in India?

Surely, much can be done by harnessing men and their resources to the supreme task of village uplift.

**BHAGAVAD-GITA: THE SONG OF GOD.**

Translated by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood. Introduction by Aldous Huxley. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Myslapore.

Here is yet another English version of a great book—a book for all times. The Bhagavad Gita, observes Aldous Huxley, in a brief but illuminating introduction, "is perhaps the most systematic spiritual statement of the Perennial philosophy." And to a world at war, a world too that can only hope to patch up some kind of precarious armed truce "it stands, pointing, clearly and unmistakably, to the only road of escape from the self imposed necessity of self-destruction."

The Gita is many things to many men and its enduring value lies in its wide and recurrent appeal. Its epic background gives its teachings an appropriate setting. Whether as literature or as gospel the Gita is equally inspiring. Merely to add yet another to the many existing literal translations of the Gita would be supererogatory. The publishers have therefore aimed rather at an interpretation as befits the greatest religious document of the world where the translators have not hesitated to use the verse form. The version is therefore partly prose and partly verse.

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

: z :

June 28. Beluchistan decides to join Pakistan.

June 29. Paris talks held in secrecy.

June 30 Bengal and Punjab Boundary Commissions constituted.

July 1. Dual Government formed in Bengal.

July 2 Three power parleys on U. S. Plan fail.

July 3. New Bengal Cabinet sworn in

July 4. India Independence Bill introduced in Parliament by Mr Attlee

July 5 Sardar Patel invites States to Join the Union Consambly.

July 6 Madras Government grant bonus for Paddy producers.

July 7. Interim Government members hand in resignations.

July 8. Indian delegation on sterling assets begin their Talks in London

July 9 Princess Elizabeth's engagement to Philip of Greece announced.

July 10. The names of Mr. Jinnah and Lord Mountbatten announced as Governors-General of Pakistan and the Indian Union respectively.

July 11. Mr. Attlee moves second reading reading of the India Independence Bill.

July 12. Golden Jubilee Celebrations of G. A. Natesan & Co: Public address to Mr. Natesan at the Ranade Hall, Mylapore.

July 13 Mr Jinnah in a Press Conference assures protection of rights to minorities.

—Sylhet joins Pakistan.

July 14. Indian Constituent Assembly meets.

—Mr. Attlee clarifies wording of the India Bill in the Commons.

July 15. Commons pass third reading of India Bill.

July 16. House of Lords approves India Independence Bill.

July 17. Shipping disaster off Bombay coast.

July 18. Indian Independence Bill receives assent of H. M. the King.

—Sir Shaafat Ahmed Khan is dead.

July 19. Five members of the Burma Executive Council including Aung San are assassinated.

July 20 N. W. F. P. decides to join Pakistan.

July 21. Burma Consambly session postponed.

—Sir Lawrence Grafftey-Smith is appointed British High Commissioner for Pakistan.

—War begins in Java. Dutch planes attack Indonesian positions.

July 22 Constituent Assembly adopts free India Flag—Tricolour with Asoka Chakra in centre.

—Indo-British shipping talks break down.

July 23 The Minorities Committee of the Constituent Assembly decides to abandon separate electorates and adopts the system of Joint Electorate.

July 24. Mr. H. S. Malik is appointed India's High Commissioner for Canada.

—Ban on Madras Labour Union is lifted.

July 25 Attempt on Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's life at Trivandrum.

July 26 Washington hails Pt. Nehru's support to Java—supporting it as "Nehru Doctrine".

July 27. Gandhiji's call to Rulers to join the Union.

—Akali Dal defies ban on Sikh Conference and over 10,000 people hold Conference at Amritsar.

July 28. Dutch-troops surrender in West Java: Republican resistance gains strength.

July 29. Britain rejects Afghan claims on N. W. F. P.

July 30. Consambly adopts provision for setting up Supreme Court.

July 31. Travancore joins the Indian Union.



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## PRIVATE PROPERTY IN RUSSIA

Most Americans are surprised to learn that, in Russia, citizens are encouraged to acquire personal property, build up personal bank accounts, and leave their acquired wealth to heirs, writes the *Magazine Digest*. This is no less surprising to Indian readers who have very hazy and somewhat crude notions of Communism.

Not only is this popular belief untrue, but, says M.S. Lipetsker of the Academy of Sciences, Moscow Law Institute, in *Trusts And Estates*, New York, the Soviet Government actually helps its people acquire personal property. It guarantees freedom of ownership and permits its affluent citizens to leave their wealth to their heirs. Comparatively few Americans are aware of this last point.

Professor Lipetsker points out that there is only limitation to the acquisition and disposal of wealth by individual in Russia. It is that such wealth must not have been acquired by "exploitation of the labour of others."

In other words, if a Russian family becomes wealthy, it gets there the hard way. There's no such thing as a private factory owner employing "outside labor." But if a man wants to open a factory with his sons and daughters working on the assembly line, and his wife as sales manager, there's no limit to the roubles that can be salted away in the bank. And, since the profits have not come from "exploitation of the labor of others," there's no objection to the family getting it all when the father dies.

True, channels of private enterprise are limited. The state holds the monopoly ownership of the land, mineral deposits, forests, water, power, factories employing outsiders, foreign trade, banks, insurance, and other fields in which American businessmen traditionally become wealthy.

Yet personal bank accounts increased in the last six normal years from 1,000,000,000 to 4,500,000,000 roubles. Other forms of personal wealth are homes, automobiles, and works of art.

To promote individual ownership government regulations require local

authorities to provide a free building lot to anyone building a house.

Banks loan money for the new homes at 2 per cent interest for seven years. In normal times automobile factories sell cars at five per cent under the market price to citizens who sign contracts to buy cars through small monthly payments over a two-year period.

Russian Banking laws are altogether in favour of the rights of the individual as against the state.

Where our current accounts pay little or no interest, the Soviet citizen receives 3 per cent. Moreover, this income is free from taxes. Money in Soviet banks may not be seized—or current account figures revealed even to the authorities—for taxes, fines, or court damage awards. Only in criminal cases are such funds liable to confiscation.

## GIFT OF ISLAM

Maulvi Ahsanullah of Dacca has sent to Gandhiji a Bengali and an Urdu leaflet of a discourse entitled the Gift of Holy Islam, from which the following extracts are given in Harijan:

According to the Quran, the observance of the following ten rules will ensure to every observer happiness in this world and the next:

1. Morning prayer for confession of lapses;
2. Fore-noon prayer for being saved from the fire of hell.
3. After-noon prayer for freedom from debt.
4. Evening prayer for protection from enemies.
5. Night prayer for priority of hearing on the day of judgement,
6. Pursuit of commerce and vocations for earning.
7. Charity for spreading peace and harmony.
8. Ablutions and clean living for freedom from disease.
9. Pursuit of learning and culture for reputation; and
10. Prayer, service, humility and courtesy, for leadership.

## SRI RAMAKRISHNA AND THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Perhaps many do not know how deep was the impression Sri Ramakrishna's life left on the national movement in India, writes the *Prabuddha Bharata*. He was, as is believed by common man, a Sanyasi first and last; but there was something more in him which none but a close student of his life can understand.

The tremendous upsurge of the national awakening along with that respect and regard for things Indian, which began from the partition of Bengal in 1905, and culminated in the present-day open challenge to the foreign authority, has its impetus from this illiterate monk who had carried out that self-imposed duty of regenerating and re-awakening the potential spiritual energy of India. The seed that had fallen on the ground was not noticed till when it had grown to such a gigantic size covering the whole ground giving hope and shelter to the weary masses oppressed and suppressed by centuries of foreign rule.

To arouse a people who had for centuries been under a foreign domination, emasculated, dishonoured, demoralized, hypnotized, to re-vitalize such a people is indeed a giant task; and for that, says the writer, not only untiring work but also silent meditation to recoup the latent energy is necessary. He then quotes Sri Kalidas Mukhopadhyaya who wrote in the *Qdbodhan* thus:

If there is no silent preparation behind the hum-drum life of action, then the life-force of a nation will become dried up, and may fall to the ground. It is for this reason Bankimchandra has propagated the ideas of service to the nation as the highest ideal and carved out in his works characters of all-renouncing Sanyasis, whose unostentatious preparations to achieve the end have produced volcanic energy in the national life of the country. The dream of Bankimchandra was materialized in Ramakrishna, in whose silent preparation was found the footing for the revival of the national hopes and aspirations, for the veneration for the religious and cultural greatness of India. In short Ramakrishna has become a symbol for all that is great and glorious in the past, and all that a nation can aspire for in the future. When at intervals such a man appears in a nation's history, who centralizes in his person all the hopes and aspirations of a people that man is called the true representative of the people. .... There were three great resurrections in the last part of the nineteenth century—in religion, literature, and politics: in the midst of all these stands the calm and serene soul of Ramakrishna as the inspirer. The above three renaissances have helped the nation in its onward progress, and for this reason Ramakrishna is called the pioneer of Indian national movement. His meditation was not for selfish ends, but for the regeneration of the nation. That energy, concentrated in his silent meditations has taken up the dynamic form of Swami Vivekananda.

Ramakrishna had initiated him into the treasures of power not for his own salvation, but for the salvation of the nation as a whole. Vivekananda has made it clear on many occasions—'Brothers, our Master had come for the benefit of humanity at large; I too have spilt my blood drop by drop in doing his work. All of you too will have to do the same.'

The chief thing required to facilitate the exploitation of a nation is firstly to destroy the unity of the people and secondly to show them as a most contemptible and uncouth people before other nations, so that they may not get any sympathy from outside. While trying with one hand to create discord and disunity, among the different elements of the nation, propaganda was going on telling the world that Indians are the most barbarous people, without any remarkable literature or culture, with contemptible ways of social organization; and English nation has come to India as a heaven-sent messenger.

When this is the condition even today what to say of fifty years ago, when the nation was still lying unconscious under stress of foreign yoke. Therefore the responsibility of Swami Vivekananda was greater as the work of all pioneers is.

That giant of a man at once set up to work to organize and unite the people by inspiring them with hopes and courage by showing the immortal greatness of their religion, and the glorious culture of the past. At the same time he reshaped the world opinion on India by his inspiring presentation of Indian problem. In the words of sister Nivedita, 'What India needed amidst the general dis-integration of the modern era was a rock where she could lie at anchor, an authoritative utterance in which she might recognize her self.' Vivekananda had again and again proclaimed to Indians that they are not always to sit at the foreign feet: in religion 'we are the teachers to the world. We should give them our Vedanta and learn from them their science. It is only by this give and take way that we can ever hope to get the respect of other nations.'

### Continues Sri Mukhopadhyaya:

As a result of his propaganda India received respect and regard of the world, and hearing her glorious culture from him many men and women of Europe and America became sympathetic towards India. India thus got her own position among the comity of nations as a result of his work.

The hypnotized men and women of India who were taught to look at India and things Indian with contempt and consider the European culture as the highest step of civilization, now at the great interest shown by Westerners for Indian culture as a result of Vivekananda's teachings, began to turn to their own land, and think more seriously of their own culture. Thus in the words of Swami Abhedananda, 'Vivekananda's is a national movement. Every one of you must feel it a part of your national life!' and as Netaji Subhas said in his book *Indian Struggle*, Vivekananda was the 'father of Indian nationalism.'

## BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM INDIA

Britain's future role in Asia, in view of the transfer of power to India, was discussed in the *Manchester Guardian*. In a long editorial, the paper referred to the argument that since the "British adventure" is coming to an end in the Indian Ocean, the "continued possession of Malaya and Hong Kong, will hardly justify any major British commitment in Eastern Asia."

"For 150 years, Great Britain has pursued as active a policy in Asia as she has done in Europe", the *Manchester Guardian* continued. "But her concern with many regions in Asia, such as the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, Tibet and Siam has sprung from one particular object—namely, the security of India.

But with Great Britain freed from acting as the trustee for India's interests, it is necessary to think out afresh what will be hereafter Britain's own interests in the Asiatic continent. A radical view is already being expressed that with Burma and Ceylon likely to follow the example of India in emancipating themselves, Great Britain is ceasing to be, in any serious respect, an Asiatic Power in the sense of being concerned with what is done in the great central mass of the continent.

Interest in its periphery, the Middle East, will certainly continue, but it is argued that in the Indian Ocean, formerly the centre of British activity, the long chapter of British adventure is being brought at last to a close, and the continued possession of Malaya and Hong Kong will hardly justify any major British commitment in Eastern Asia.

The *Manchester Guardian* added:

These arguments are not merely of academic interest. They may have practical consequences in the near future if Great Britain, in negotiating the future treaties with India and Pakistan, is requested by these countries to give any military guarantee for their security. For, if Great Britain is no longer an Asiatic Power, it will be asked why she should shoulder such a dangerous responsibility.

It may be urged that if the winding up of the British position in India involved a dangerous loss of prestige, Britain should at least see she reaped the material

advantage of being freed from the cost and danger which her position there, had involved.

Britain's concern to-day, it may be said, is with her position in the West, and if she continues to pursue her traditional aims in the Orient, or to assume there her traditional obligations, these will weaken and distract her in her actions nearer Home. All these and many other arguments may be advanced.

Yet, persuasive as some of them are it may be hoped that if India, and indeed Burma and Ceylon also seek to remain in a special relationship with Great Britain, this country will not give a discouraging reply.

A decision to accept the risks of alliance would be based not merely on the historical connection of the countries with Britain but on considerations of present and future interest.

The supreme interest of Britain is peace, Peace is always threatened when a large area of the world passes through a phase of revolution and such radical political change that it becomes a balkanised and invalid region attracting the aggression and exciting the rivalries of the neighbouring Powers. It is useless to ignore that one great region threatened to-day with an experience of this kind is the whole of the Southern part of the Asiatic continent which formed the British Empire in Asia.

For several decades, said the journal, this has been sheltered and withdrawn from world conflicts by the British Power. The Governments in the different countries were stable. Now, in the process of time, Great Britain is transferring her power to the national parties which have grown up under our shelter. She does so in no grudging spirit.

One of the essential conditions for the new system in South Asia to succeed is that the national parties should be given fully and genuinely all the responsibility to which they aspire. But with such large consequences hanging on the success of the new Governments—order or anarchy among a quarter of the population of the world—any strengthening or aid which Great Britain can with the general consent continue to provide, whether in defence or in technical matters, ought not to be withheld.

Continuing peace in South Asia is a benefit to the country for which a heavy price would not be too dear. It is with these considerations in mind that Great Britain must decide the terms of her future treaties with the two Indias. She must decide also with the knowledge that her own path to safety will lie, in the future as in the past, in the willingness to take reasonable risks and, above all, in creating a world best suited to her own survival—a world at peace.

## CALCUTTA AND ENGLISH LITERATURE

Calcutta has many memorials of lasting association with English literature. Mr. K. Makerjee draws attention to Landor's lines on Rose Aymer embalmed in a tomb in Calcutta. Writing in the *New Review* he mentions other great figures in English literature who have had some sort of connection with the city of palaces in India. Sir Philip Francis, well-known for his hostility to Hastings and better known as the author of the "Letters of Junius" remained in Calcutta for five years as one of the members of the Governor-General's Council from 1774. Thackeray was born in Calcutta in 1881. Macaulay, the historian and literateur, lived in Calcutta from 1834 to 1838. Bishop Heber was Calcutta's third Bishop. Lastly Calcutta was associated with Rudyard Kipling who described it as in a City of the Dreadful Night.

Calcutta also boasts of many notable Indian writers of English verse now known as Indo-English writers like Kasiprosad Ghose, Michael M. S. Dutt, Toru Dutt, Aru Dutt, R. C. Dutt, Manmohun Ghose, and Arabindo Ghose. Calcutta is also proud of its connection with Sir William Jones who through the Asiatic Society of Bengal and his many valuable works and translations, did much to spread Indian thought. In virtue of his '*Hymns to Indian Deities*,' Jones also became the first of a class of poets, known later as Anglo-Indian poets, most of whom were connected with Calcutta at least by writing in Calcutta journals.

"The most prominent of these were probably Capt. David Lester Richardson (1801-65) and 'the marvellous boy' Henry Vivian Derozio (1801-31). Beginning his career in the Bengal Army of the East India Company, Richardson became reputed as a writer of clever verse, and through the influence of Macaulay was appointed a Professor of English in the Calcutta Presidency College where he influenced two generations of Bengali students. Called by some the National Bard of Modern India, Derozio not only published poems like *The Kabir of Jangheera*, but also exerted potent influence on the minds of his Bengali pupils at the Calcutta Hindu College. He lies buried in the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta."

Of the others, Henry Meredith Parker (1796-1868) published two books of poems and contributed to magazines in Calcutta.

But the greatest name ever associated with Calcutta is that of Rabindranath Tagore who was born there on May 7, 1861 and died there on August 7, 1941.

## LORD MOUNTBATTEN

"British statesmanship, wise, courageous and farseeing, had conceivably prevented a blood bath in India, arrested a world calamity and laid the foundation of what can yet become unity of Hindus and Muslims within the Commonwealth," says the Veteran Labour journalist Hannen Swaffer in the *Sunday People*.

"Early in the war, Lord Louis Mountbatten won high fame for his skilful prowess in the naval battles off Greece and then surprisedly given supreme command of South East Asia command by Churchill earned the devotion of all his men in Burma.

"Then when India seemed lost and civil war appeared imminent, Attlee chose him to succeed Wavell in New Delhi. Mountbatten mastered in a few toilsome weeks the details of an intricate problems and strove to heal the breach between Hindus and Muslims—in vain".

Partition was inevitable—a rich commercialised Hindusthan and an impoverished agricultural Pakistan from which 200 million sterling was being withdrawn as were industries and trading establishments. But neither side agreed on the terms. Village arson and violence spread.

"Lord Mountbatten conceived the plan of Dominion Status, while the scheme of British withdrawal was drawn up, rushed home with it, persuaded Mr. Churchill to stop his panic speeches, convinced Mr. Attlee—and India gave way."

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME: A Symposium. Rs. 1-8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., PUBLISHERS, MADRAS.

# INDIAN STATES

## Hyderabad

### HYDERABAD NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE

Negotiations between Hyderabad and the Government of India and the representatives of the two Dominion Governments, it is learnt, began on July, 11. The negotiations will cover a wide range of subjects like stand-still agreements, retrocession of Berar and other territories including British administered areas. Intense activity has been going on in the State and the Nizam's Council of Ministers was in session for three days in succession. It is understood conclusions have been reached regarding the attitude the Hyderabad Negotiating Committee should take towards the various issues.

### HYDERABAD STATE CONGRESS

The Working Committee of the State Congress which met at Sholapur from June 29 to July 1 adopted a resolution appointing a Committee of action to study the situation from time to time and suggest to the working Committee steps to implement the political resolution passed at the last Congress session.

The Committee condemned the seizure of copies of the resolution by the Government for printing presses without formally banning it and called upon to assert their basic right of carrying the message of the State Congress that Hyderabad must join the Indian Union to every hamlet by widespread circulation of the resolution.

### HYDERABAD STATE FORCES

The Hyderabad Government, it is reliably learnt, is recruiting Pathans as regular other ranks for the Hyderabad State Forces.

Hyderabad is aiming at a target of 2,000 Pathans. Preference is given to Pathans from the trans-borders tribes (Afridis, Mohmands and Khataks) and to demobilised Pathan soldiers of the Indian Army.

## Mysore

### FUTURE OF MYSORE

"Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to a new Government," said Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Dewan of Mysore, addressing on July 5 the joint session of Mysore Legislature.

The Dewan said, "Declarations have been repeatedly made by the Crown Representatives, Prime Ministers and Cabinet Ministers of His Majesty's Government that Paramountcy would lapse when the British quit their responsibility for the administration of the country and that rights of jurisdiction ceded to or assumed by the Crown could not be transferred. With the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. These statements and assurances are embodied in documents of highest importance and in statements of responsible Ministers too numerous to mention.

"I wish to make it clear, at the same time, that the State of Mysore is determined not to allow any administrative chaos to follow on this lapse of such Paramountcy in its administrative relations or arrangement with British India which have been brought about through the agency of the Crown Representative. In fact, His Highness's Government has been invited to enter into negotiations with British Indian leaders to arrive at, if possible, a standstill basis of agreement on several matters of mutual concern and interest which will last during the interim period between the lapse of Paramountcy and the new arrangement either through federation or otherwise between the Dominion Governments and the State."



## Travancore

### FUTURE OF TRAVANCORE

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, addressed a crowded meeting of businessmen of the State and representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and members of the public and also answered some questions, on July 5, at the Council chamber.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar contended that in the Indian Independence Bill Parliament supported fully all the points made so far on behalf of the Indian States deciding to become independent on the British leaving India.

Referring to the increasingly sound financial position of the State, whose revenues were mounting year after year, and analysing the resources of the States, he explained how eminently Travancore was best in her interests to remain so. He stressed by means of statistics that just before the war, during the war and immediately after it Travancore always had a favourable trade balance, her exports always exceeding her imports and there was no possibility of the State suffering an account of any threat of economic pressure. The Dewan made it clear that the State was deficient only in the matter of rice which she imported mostly from Sind, the Punjab and Burma the former being in Pakistan area.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, concluding, said that Travancore by demanding independence did not want isolation, but freedom from internal interference and was always willing and ready for co-operation in all matters of common interest.

### FOOD SITUATION IN TRAVANCORE

A Government note says: It has come to the notice of Government that an impression prevails among certain sections of the public that the recent cut in the size of ration is due to the non-supply of rice by the Government of India, consequent on Travancore's non-participation in the Constituent Assembly. Government wish to make it perfectly clear that this impression is absolutely incorrect.

## Baroda

### BARODA RULER

H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, accompanied by the Maharani and Prince Sayaji Rao arrived in Bombay on July 6 from Karachi by plane.

The Maharaja who was away for about four months, spent two months in the U.S.A. where he undertook a tour of industrial plants, particularly those engaged in cotton, tobacco and chemical production.

The Maharaja returned to London in the last week of May where he contacted British Political leaders.

### STATES ATTACHED TO BARODA

It is understood that the Baroda State has informed the Rulers of the States attached to Baroda State that on the lapse of Paramountcy these States will be free from attachment. These States have thereupon decided to form their own administrative group and to join the Gujarat States Group. The Gujarat States have, on their part, decided to admit these States in their Group.

## Kashmir

### BONUS FOR WORKERS

Under a scheme recently sanctioned by His Highness's Government, workers in silk factories at Jammu and Kashmir will be entitled to bonus. Henceforth, workers in private silk factories will get one-fourth of their total earnings during the year as bonus, while those in the Government silk factory will get one-twelfth of their total earnings.

## Cochin

### WORKING DAYS IN COCHIN SCHOOLS

The Government of Cochin have ordered that hereafter the minimum number of working days in a year in all the educational institutions of the State shall be 200. This effected by cancelling all Amavassali holidays and by ordering that if under any circumstance a holiday is declared, the ensuing Saturday will be a working day.

## Gwalior

### RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

It is understood that in pursuance of the announcement by His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior that Responsible Government under his aegis is his goal. It is learnt, that a Constitutional Reforms Committee will shortly be appointed to make recommendations to implement this policy. The present Council of Ministers will be reconstituted to include substantial non-official elements like the representatives of the State Congress, Harijans and other interests. These proposals made by Mr. M. A. Srinivasan, Vice-President of the Executive Council, Gwalior, are understood to have been welcomed by the State Congress and other parties.

Maharaja of Gwalior is keenly interested alike in the industrial as well as the political and economic progress of the State. Under his guidance, the Government had prepared schemes for hydro-electric development, industrial expansion and soil reclamation in the State.

## Patiala

### MAHARAJA ENDORSES PATEL'S STATEMENT

The Maharaja of Bikaner on July 9, warmly welcomed the statement of policy issued by Sardar Vallabhai Patel on his assumption of office as member in charge of the newly created States Department and appealed to his brother Princes to "grasp the hand of friendship which has thus spontaneously been extended by the Congress".

## Bahawalpur

### CANAL EXTENSION

A new canal extension project which will link the tail of old Abbasia canal with the tail of Minchin Branch has been taken in hand. The Project, when completed, is expected to irrigate 40,000 acres of waste land at the first stage of the scheme.

## Jalpur

### JAIPUR STATE SERVICE

The rates of pay of inferior servants in the Jaipur State Service have been revised, involving an extra cost of Rs 3½ lakhs roughly.

The salaries of the clerks employed in the government offices have also been revised at an increased annual cost Rs. 93,000 to the Government.

Compulsory primary education has been introduced in the area within the Municipal limits of Pilani in Jaipur State.

Munshi Jai Dev Singh has been appointed Senior Member of the Board of Revenue.

## Kolhapur

### PAY COMMISSION

Kolhapur Durbar has decided to appoint a Pay Commission to examine the scales of pay and allowances and the conditions of service of all classes of employees. A non-official expert will be the President of the Commission and two members of the Commission will be nominated by the Praja Parishad. The terms of the reference of the Pay Commission include an examination of the Retrenchment Committee.

## Eastern States

### EASTERN STATES TO JOIN CONSAMBLY

The rulers of the Eastern States have decided to join the Indian Constituent Assembly. Announcing this decision at the meeting of the council of Rulers of Eastern States, at the Great Eastern Hotel, Calcutta on July 8 the Ruler of Baudh, President of the Council of Rulers said that the decision of the Eastern States to send their representatives to the Constituent Assembly would be based on the general understanding on fundamental propositions reached between the two Negotiating Committees and recorded by the Constituent Assembly.

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

(O)

## Ceylon

### EQUAL RIGHTS FOR INDIANS

Free India and free Ceylon as members of the Asian Relations Conference should think now in terms of Asian unity and recognise the just rights of Indian settlers in Ceylon, said Mahatma Gandhi whose world figure has been helpful in settling many difficult problems. His inspiration and guidance will be at the disposal of both the countries for solving problems facing India and Ceylon at the present moment," observed Mr. V. V. Giri, India's Representative-Designate to Ceylon in an interview to the United Press of India on June 20.

Problems of Ceylon, he said, relate principally to equal citizenship rights for Indians who had made Ceylon their home. Gandhiji and Mahatma Gandhi had made it quite clear that they wanted for Indians there nothing more than equal citizenship rights with the Ceylonese and in this connection they had strongly advised the Indian settlers there to identify themselves in all matters with Ceylonese and forget double citizenship. "I am sure," he added, "that the Ceylonese do realise that Indian workers have done a great deal in exploiting resources of Ceylon to the advantage of Ceylonese and as such they have every right to expect equal rights and good relations at their hands."

## South Africa

### BOYCOTT OF INDIAN TRADERS

Attempts to boycott Indian traders in the Transvaal seem to be dying out and there is no indication that any Indian merchant has been forced out of business.

"Any suggestion that Indian traders would leave the Transvaal because of the boycott is ridiculous", said Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

"The law restricts Indian freedom of movement and makes it impossible for them to leave the Province of their birth," he added.

## U. S. A.

### ALIENS IN U. S. A.

The fate of 30 Indians who are alleged to have entered the United States illegally, and are now threatened with deportation, will be decided shortly when a special Aliens Bill is submitted to Congress after appeals to Senators and Congress-men. Some of the Indians have been living in America for over 20 years.

A deputation of three Indians went to Washington recently to appeal to the authorities. Senators and Congress-men were approached as well as Mr. M. Asaf Ali, the Indian Ambassador.

The Indians were informed that the Immigration Commissioner had decided to postpone their deportation, pending the "disposal in Congress one way or another of a Bill which would legalise the status of any alien who had lived in the United States for at least seven years and had been of good moral character."

## Burma

### BURMA IMMIGRATION ACT

Negotiations between India and Burma are likely to be opened at high level in the near future for modification of the recent Burma Immigration (Emergency Provisions) Act to remove as far as practicable from the point of view of the Indian Government.

It will be recalled that the Burma Immigration Act, which was passed in June last, imposed certain restrictions on people trying to go to Burma from India. The reactions of the Government of India to this Act were conveyed to the Burma Government through the India Government's representative in Rangoon. The Burma Government has now expressed its willingness to explore ways and means for the solution of the problem on a long-term basis.

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS # DEPARTMENTAL # NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### SARDAR PATEL'S ASSURANCE TO PRINCES

Sardar Vallabhai Patel has, in the course of the following Statement, appealed to such of the Indian states as have not already joined the Indian Constituent Assembly to do so.

The States have already accepted the basic principle that for defence, foreign affairs and communications they would come into the Indian Union. We ask of them no more than accession on these three subjects in which the common interests of the country are involved. In other matters, we would scrupulously respect their autonomous existence."

"There appears a great deal of mis-understanding about the attitude of the Congress towards the States. I should like to make it clear that it is not the desire of the Congress to interfere in any manner whatever with the domestic affairs of the States. They are no enemies of the Princely Order, but, on the other hand, wish them and their people, under this aegis all prosperity, contentment and happiness. Nor would it be my policy to conduct the relations of the new Department with the States in any manner which savours of the domination of one over the other. If there would be any domination it would be that of our mutual interests and welfare.

"We have no ulterior motive or selfish interests to serve. Our common objective should be to understand each other's point of view and come to decisions acceptable to all and in the best interests of the country. With this object, I propose to explore the possibility of associating with the administration of the new Department a Standing Committee representative of both the States and British India.

"We are at a momentous stage in the history of India. By common endeavour, we can raise the country to a new greatness while lack of unity will expose us to fresh calamities. I hope the Indian States will bear in mind that the alternative to co-operation in the general interest is anarchy and chaos which will overwhelm great and small in a common ruin if we are unable to get together in the minimum of common tasks. Let not the future generation curse us for having had the opportunity but failed to turn it to our mutual advantage.

### CHARTER OF RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Member in the Interim Government, in a statement on June 29 referred to the apprehension of minorities both in the Indian Union and the seceding areas following the acceptance of the British plan of June 3, and suggested a joint meeting at the earliest opportunity, of representatives of the two Constituent Assemblies.

He Said:

The acceptance by both the Congress and the Muslim League of the British plan of June 3 brings to a close the sorry record of the recent communal strifes. Whatever has happened before and up to the acceptance is now a matter of the past.

"I am aware that there are glaring defects in this plan, but in the existing circumstances there was no other alternative. The fact that it has ended a problem whose essential for national progress should in itself make us pause and turn our eyes from the past towards the future. The plan of June 3 is now a settled fact. The division of Bengal and the Punjab has also been carried out according to its terms. Once the people and their representatives have taken a decision, it would be great mistake to continue to brood over the past and try to reopen old questions and reintroduce uncertainty, bitterness and conflict once again.

"The wisest course today is to focus all our attention upon the future and try to build new conditions of safety, peace and progress for all the communities concerned. It is unfortunate that communal bitterness should have somewhat marred the victory of Indian nationalism at the moment of its triumph. Nevertheless, no one can deny that India has achieved her freedom under conditions which have no parallel in history. Our sorrow and grief because of the communal tangle should not blind us to the fact that a new era is opening out for India."

The minorities question, he said, requires to be treated with calm and wise statesmanship. Minorities in the seceding areas are full of apprehensions for their future.

"I am confident that, so far as the Union of India is concerned, it will treat its minorities not only with justice but with generosity. I firmly believe the authorities in the seceding areas will adopt the same attitude towards the minorities there.

# Utterances of the Day

## SIR RADHAKRISHNAN ON PARTITION

Sir Sarvapalle Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, laying the foundation-stone of the Besant Centenary Hostel, Madras on July 1 said: "The scheme for the division of the country is a great triumph for British political acumen. The Solomon-like decision to divide the country and to give to each of the two parts the status of a Dominion received enthusiastic support of Mr Churchill and his followers." Sir Sarvapalle added:

If our leaders acquiesced in the decision owing to pressure of circumstances, it is because the policy of separate electorates has had its natural outcome in separate states. Mr Churchill who is supporting the Marshall Plan for a joint economic scheme of recovery of Europe and who wants unification in Europe wants disruption in India. Separation by religion is separation by history. This is a dangerous doctrine. It may be that the British are not dishonest and that they insist this principle with a desire to buttress their own authority. It may well be that some of them wanted to avoid the dangerous unrest among the Muslims. Whatever it be, the result is as anticipated. We hate one another more than we "hate evil and injustice."

Proceeding, Sir Sarvapalle deplored what he called the fissiparous tendencies in certain Indian States and said:

Lord Listowel said that the British do not contemplate the Indian States to be independent of the successor Governments. They are expected to join one of two Dominions. Some of them seem to annex glory in declarations of independence. If the British are obliged to leave the country owing to the storm and colossal resistance of the Indian National Congress, when its non-violent struggle has brought India and to the gates of liberty, when the Congress has invited the States to share the privileges and responsibilities of freedom, it is preferable to be subordinate to Britain than exercise co-ordinated authority in the Indian Union. The Indian Princes when they accepted the Cabinet Plan, agreed to surrender to the Centre control of defence communications and foreign affairs—the Centre in which they will be adequately represented. The Constituent Assembly has no desire to interfere with the internal affairs of the State. If the British Government directly or indirectly encourages any of these Princes, even while Paramountcy is in operation to isolate themselves, there will be further disintegration. The final summing up of the results of British rule in India would then be that Great Britain found India strong, suspicious and dumfounded and left her weak, poor, brutish, disunited.

## GANDHIJI'S GRIEF

Speaking at New Delhi on June 23 Mahatma Gandhi said:

"This division of India with sub-division of provinces puts us on our mettle. The papers today talk of a grand ceremonial to take place in London over the division of India into "two nations" which were only the other day one nation. What is there to gloat over in the tragedy?

"We have hugged the belief that though we part, we do so as friends and brothers belonging to one family. Now if the newspaper report is correct, the British will make of us two nations and that with a flourish of trumpets. Is that to be the parting shot? I hope not.

If the major partner is true to his salt the foreshadowed wisdom can be confounded not in the shape of avoiding partition however distasteful it might be, but by right behaviour on the part of the major partner by always acting as one nation, by refusing to treat the Muslim minorities as aliens on their own home.

This means a revolutionary reform in the religion of the major partner. Let us not shut our eyes to the plain fact. The untouchables, the Scheduled classes are the target because they are the weakest part of Hinduism. One reads reports of Muslim League speakers holding forth that the Scheduled classes in Pakistan can have separate electorates. Is that to be a call for joining Islam of the Pakistan type?

"I do not wish to recall the tales of forcible conversions. But having heard so much from their own mouths, I shudder to contemplate the worst. What is the answer to this fear or threat?

"It is undoubtedly that there should be no untouchability whatsoever in Hinduism, no Scheduled classes therefore in India, no caste divisions whatsoever in the eye of the law. Hindus are all one, no high or low. All the neglected classes, such as the Scheduled classes, the so-called aboriginal classes should receive special treatment in the matter of education.

## MR. JINNAH ON MINORITIES

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Governor-designate of Pakistan, at a Press Conference at Delhi on July 13 assured the minorities in the Pakistan Dominion that they would have protection with regard to their religion, faith, life, property and culture. They would, in all respects, be treated as citizens of Pakistan without any discrimination, but they would also have the obligations of citizenship. The minorities would have to be loyal to the state and owe true allegiance to it.

The same principle, Mr. Jinnah emphasised, would 'apply to the minorities in Hindusthan. One could not have minorities disloyal to the state and sabotaging its activities. Every citizen must be loyal to his state.

Mr. Jinnah sincerely hoped that the relations between Pakistan and India would be friendly and cordial. Speaking for Pakistan, he said there would be no want of goodwill.

## PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTION REPORT

Direct election of Provincial Governors by the people on the basis of adult suffrage, a Council of Ministers to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, a Legislature consisting of the Governor and the Legislative Assembly with an Upper House if the Constituent Assembly members of the Province so decide, functional representation to Upper House within certain limits and a provincial judiciary wherein Judges are appointed by the President of the Federation in consultation with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Governor of the Province and the Chief Justice of the High Court of the Province are the main features of the Report on the principles of a model Provincial constitution presented to the Constituent Assembly by Sardar Vallabhai Patel on 15th July.

## THE CONSAMBLV

On July 14, at New Delhi about 190 old and 90 new members assembled for the fourth session of the Constituent Assembly. The new members signed the register at the rate of two a minute. The most applauded man was Dr. Ambedkar, and the others who were cheered included Sardar Baldev Singh, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Mr. Ismail Chundrigar, Mr. M. S. Anney, Mr. Sreenivasan and Mr. Ismail Khan. The commercial opinion also found two champions—Mr. D. P. Khaitan and Mr. G. L. Mehta.

## N. W. F. JOINS PAKISTAN

A communique dated July 20 from the Viceroy's House says that the North-West Frontier Province has decided to join Pakistan.

About 50.49 per cent. of the total number of voters in the Province have voted for Pakistan.

Following are the results of the N.-W. F. P. referendum:

Valid votes for Pakistan: 2,89,244.

Valid votes for India: 2,874.

Majority: 2,86,370.

Percentage of valid votes to electorate entitled was 50.99.

Valid votes cast in the last election were: 3,75,989.

Total electorate entitled to vote in the referendum: 5,72,798.

Therefore, votes for Pakistan were 50.49 per cent.

## THE FATE OF SYLHET

Sylhet has decided to join Pakistan, it is officially announced on July 13.

A Press note issued from the Viceroy's House says: Following is the result of referendum in Sylhet district, Assam:—

Valid voters for joining East Bengal 2,39,619.

For remaining in Assam 1,84,041.

Majority 55,578.

The percentage of valid votes to total electorate entitled to vote was 77.33.

# Educational

## RESULT OF PARTITION OF BENGAL

"The University of Calcutta, the biggest of Indian Universities, will be seriously affected by the partition of Bengal," remarked Mr. P. N. Banerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the University, in an interview dated June 24

Of the 3,300 affiliated schools which were now under the University, approximately 1,200 schools would go to Pakistan and 300 might go to Assam. There would be only 300 schools under the direct supervision of the University.

Mr Banerjee added that there were at present 116 colleges under the University. The partition of Bengal would affect 34 colleges in the Pakistan zone. Of the remaining 82 colleges, 23 might be included in Assam. In that case 59 colleges of West Bengal would remain under the Calcutta University.

## TWO INDIAN STUDENTS

Two Indian students have been granted associate memberships of Sigma XI, national honorary research society of Stanford University, California

Associate memberships are given to candidates who have shown promise in scientific research, but have not, as yet, completed major research work.

The two students are Ashraf Ali from Bengal and Vuppalapathy Baliah from Madras, both of whom are doing research work in chemistry.

## HARIJANS STUDENTS IN MADRAS

The Government have directed that with effect from the academic year 1947-48, 10 per cent of seats in all educational institutions should be reserved for Harijans. They have also informed the managements of aided secondary schools that they contemplate enforcing such reservation as of the conditions for the grant of recognition under the Madras Educational Rules.

## MONTESSORI TRAINING CENTRE

Speaking at the inauguration of Arundale-Montessori Training Centre at Adyar Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University Dr. J. H. Cousins and others stressed the value of "Montessori" training and the role that teachers trained in this system could play in the field of education. The function came off in the Headquarters Hall of the Theosophical Society and Srimati Rukmini Devi presided.

After invocation, the chairman welcomed the many educationists and others who had responded to the invitation to participate in the function and said that the Training Centre was formed as a memorial to the late Dr. Besant whose centenary was to be celebrated in October next. It was easy to say that we should have good education but how could that be had without trained teachers and, naturally, institutions for training teachers?

## ENGLISH IN C.P.

The C.P. Cabinet at its meeting held at Nagpur on July 12 decided to abolish immediately English as a medium of instruction in Government High Schools in the province.

The effect of this decision will be that students who have entered High Schools this year will take their instruction in their mother-tongue.

## APPLICANTS FOR GOVT. JOBS IN U.P.

A Press communique issued by the Education Department of the U.P. Government says that with effect from January 2, 1949, no male graduate who has not obtained a diploma in social service awarded by the Government, will ordinarily, be eligible for recruitment to service under Government, local bodies or aided or recognised institutions.

## INDIA AND PRIVY COUNCIL

Writing about the future connection of India with the Privy Council, the Allahabad *Law Journal* says:

For over a century and a half, the Judicial Committee has interpreted the laws of the land and to a great measure moulded and shaped them. Whatever happens, whether the connection with the Judicial Committee is served or maintained, its decisions would survive as masterly expositions of law by persons whose judicial knowledge was always vast and whose impartiality was never in doubt.

The impact of Rome is even felt today in the lives and institutions of the peoples of the countries with whom the Romans came into contact directly or indirectly. Similarly, we are not ashamed to confess the results of the impact of Britain on India would continue to be felt by our countrymen for generations to come for our thoughts and institutions have been influenced to a no mean measure by the laws and institutions of Britain, and the one institution through which Britain exerted this influence to a considerable extent, has been the Privy Council. Future generations of jurists and scholars would have to look to the decisions of the board to discover the origin of institutions and principles of law that they may find in their own country.

In view of the great part played by the Privy Council in interpreting and developing the laws of the land we can appreciate the sentiments of Dr. Jayakar when he says that the end of its jurisdiction would "cause a violent blow to the legal system of India."

## LAWYERS' COMMITTEE FOR PAKISTAN

A committee of leading Muslim lawyers with Dr. Khalifa Shujauddin, as Convener, has been set up in Lahore to advise the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on various issues and problems that may arise in the drafting of a constitution.

## SIR ALLADI ON STATES

Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, member of the Constituent Assembly and former Advocate-General of Madras, after analysing the position of Indian States in the light of H. M. G.'s proposals said in the course of a statement on June 10 that there were only two courses open to them — to enter into Constitutional relationship with the Indian Union and become integral parts of Indian Union. No "tertium quid" was possible.

The voluntary withdrawal of the British Power from India cannot clothe the Indian States with an independent or international status which they never possessed and it is inconceivable that the U. N. O. or any other international organization would concede to them such a status, he added.

## THE FUTURE OF BERAR

Prime Minister Clement Attlee made it clear in the House of Commons that there was nothing in the wording of the Indian Independence Bill to modify the complete independence and autonomy of the Dominions of India and Pakistan which will come into existence on August 15.

Referring to Berar, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Under-Secretary for India, said while Berar would undoubtedly *de jure* revert to Hyderabad, the fact that it was now administered entirely by the officials of the Government of India and the Central Provinces made it obviously necessary for the Government of India to enter into discussions with the Nizam either to continue the existing arrangement or to replace the present set-up in the light of the legal position.

## MADRAS PUBLIC SAFETY ACT

The appointment of an Advisory Council to report to the Government of the several cases of detention under the Maintenance of Public Order Act, is officially announced.

The Council will consist of the Hon. Mr. Justice Shahabuddin (Chairman), Mr. K. Rajah Aiyar, Advocate-General, and Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri.



# Insurance

## INDIAN INSURANCE COMPANIES

As a gesture of goodwill towards Indian Insurance Companies the Government of India, have given the Indian Insurance Association of Bombay the entire marine insurance for goods they import into India.

Recently, the President of the Indian Insurance Association drew attention to the fact that non-Indian Companies had always enjoyed a preponderant share of the available general insurance business in this country. With numerical majority on local tariff associations they had contrived to manipulate tariff policies to consolidate their own position and hamper the growth of Indian Insurance.

The Central Government are said to be impressed with the peculiar position which Indian Insurance Companies occupy. As a result of arrangements with Japan they are importing eighty million yards of textiles. The Government have placed with the Indian Insurance Association the marine policy for the entire imports from Japan. The total value of the goods from Japan are estimated at seven crores of rupees. The Association is expected to distribute the business to its members. This is the first time that Indian Insurance has received direct support from the Government of India and the gesture is appreciated by the companies.

## CATTLE INSURANCE SCHEME

The appointment of an expert committee including actuaries and insurance experts is now under the consideration of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, to collect data for evolving a scientific basis of Cattle Insurance and for formulating a scheme applicable to India.

Cattle Insurance, though common in other advanced countries, is practically unknown in India. Such insurance is considered essential for encouraging the breeding of better types of milch cattle and for the development of dairies in rural areas.

## INSURANCE LAWS IN INDIAN DOMINIONS

The probable effects on Insurance as the result of the division of India into two Dominions were discussed by the annual general meeting of the Association of Indian Insurance Offices held at Calcutta on June 30.

The President, Mr. S. C. Roy, speaking on Insurance Law said: "It would be the height of folly if the two Dominions follow their own policy and enact their own laws with regard to Insurance business in their respective territories. Companies registered in Hindusthan should be allowed unfettered operation in Pakistan area without further compliance with Pakistan law and *vice versa*—The present Indian Insurance Act, received support from both the Congress and the League. I would therefore, suggest that the same Indian Insurance Act should be adopted by both the Dominions and that Insurance should be a central subject with the Dominions."

Mr. Roy emphasised the desirability of making a full declaration of policy in this regard at the earliest opportunity.

## "ATOM BOMB DAMAGE NOT INSURABLE"

Atom bomb damage will not be subject to claims from insurance companies, Scandinavian insurance representatives decided at a Conference in Oslo.

The Conference agreed that such damage will be considered as "an act of God" or "force majeure."

## HEALTH INSURANCE FOR WORKMEN

Questions relating to medical care of workmen in connection with the scheme of health insurance pending with the Central Government now, was discussed by Mr. A. B. Shetty, Minister for Public Health, with Major Lloyd Jones, Deputy Director-General of Medical Services in Madras on July 15.

## HINDU CAPITAL IN PAKISTAN

"The first step in the development of the economics of Pakistan is to arrest the flight of Hindu capital from the zones of north-west India," said Prof. Mohammed Hassan, an economist and member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, discussing the possible economic and political trends in the Pakistan areas in New Delhi.

"The Muslim League is much concerned with the welfare of the minorities in Pakistan and Mr. Jinnah has perhaps shown it more in private than in public," he continued. "It is high time the League high command pre-occupied as it is with political problems, should assure the minorities that it will be worth while to stay where they are rather than emigrate in panic."

He pointed out the disastrous results of such hasty evacuation, especially the consequent economic ruination of the evacuees themselves, as well as of the land. "Of course, as far as Pakistan is concerned, we cannot afford to have any gap in our economy. We shall require large capital and we are ready to give preference to Hindus for investment," he said.

## JAP SILK FOR INDIA

A member of the Indian Trade Delegation to Japan said that India will buy at least one million pounds Japanese raw silk in 1947.

Mr. Panalal Maneklal Chinai told the United Press of America that the deal will probably be arranged through Allied Headquarters. He said India's silk requirements this year totalled two million pounds, but purchases from Japan had to be cut down due to imports from China. He said India will pay for the silk more or less on a barter basis with raw cotton. He said 100 silk looms have been offered for sale to India and that India might go in for them because of the lack of looms in the country.

## DIVISION OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

The Partition Committee is fairly busy collecting the data regarding assets and liabilities of the various department. The general principle seems to have been agreed upon that there should be no physical transfer of assets from one zone to another except those which are of a movable character and intended for servicing purposes as in the railway. But the main question of division of liabilities has not yet been touched upon.

Out of the total public debt including railways of Rs 1,700 crores, the bulk of bond and security-holders are in the Dominion of India. Only about Rs 35 crores worth of securities are held in Pakistan according to information collected by the Reserve Bank of India. The question therefore, arises regarding the basis on which liabilities will be divided and that guarantees will be afforded by the Pakistan Government for the bond-holders in India.

It seems that the Muslim League is claiming that both the Dominion Governments are successor Governments and therefore, suggest both the Dominion Governments should jointly guarantee bond-holders. Of course, the Pakistan Dominion's guarantee will relate only to that portion of the liabilities which was allotted to Pakistan.

## DOMINIONS WILL HONOUR DUES

Apprehension has been expressed in certain quarters that difficulties may be experienced by supplies of stores and services to the Central Government in realizing such of their dues as will be outstanding at the time when the two dominion Governments begin to function and in enforcing their rights under contracts. Such apprehension, says a press note, is entirely without foundation.

## Women's Page

### WOMEN'S ROLE IN FUTURE INDIA

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit Ambassador-designate of Russia, said at Bombay on July 14 that her task as the Ambassador of India to a foreign people, was rather difficult. She expressed the hope that she would be equal to the task.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, who was speaking at a reception given to her by over 50 women's organisations of Bombay, added: "All our energy and strength should be canalised in a useful channel so that we could all unite to build a strong and powerful India, which would take its rightful place in the comity of nations."

"The days when we merely talked and harangued have gone", she said. "Mere words have no meaning for us to-day. We have to transform everything we said before into action. Let us, therefore, not waste our time any longer in talking aimlessly in air, but let us all unite in constructive activities to build a new India, where everyone will be usefully employed, fed and clothed. We have loosened the fetters that chained us so long, and with the dawn of freedom, every Indian must feel the glow of freedom, so that he may face the future, however dark and fearful it may be, with courage and fortitude and full of hope."

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit referred to the part played by Indian women in the national struggle and said that women in this country under Mahatma Gandhi's guidance had shown to the world that they were capable of fulfilling their domestic obligations as well as playing an equally important role in the national struggle for the achievement of the country's freedom and independence. "They will, in future, have to take more and more part in constructive and nation-building activities, and be equal to any task that may be conferred upon them by our own National Government in a democratic and free India", she added.

### UPLIFT OF WOMEN

Addressing the members of the Women's Indian Association at Madras Srimathi Kamaladevi and Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan stressed the need for Indian women to take more interest in social affairs and to play their part in the progress of the country properly. The meeting was held on July 10 at Lady Muthiah Chettiar High School, when Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan inaugurated the Purasawalkam Branch of the Women's Indian Association. Srimathi Rukmini Lakshminipathi, former Minister of Madras, presided.

Speaking on the occasion, Srimathi Kamaladevi dwelt at length on the work done by the All-India Women's Association, of which the Women's Indian Association was the Madras branch. She said that while other countries were giving proper place for women in the national affairs, in India the women's movement had not yet become what it should be. Srimathi Kamaladevi said that education was the remedy for women suffering from evils of seclusion.

Proceeding, Srimathi Kamaladevi said that unfortunately there were limitations to women's progress, the biggest hurdle being the family and care of Children. Women, however, should realise their responsibilities and begin to be the earning members in their families.

### Mrs. ASAF ALI'S WARNING

Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, President, Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, in a statement dated July 12 says:

"Muslim Leaguers have forfeited the right to remain in the Constituent Assembly. As arch agents of an anti-Indian political party they will not function as its fifth column. Disloyal to Indian nationalism, their role in free India will be that of aliens bent upon disrupting Indian unity. The Constituent Assembly, therefore, should ban their entry and order a re-election on the joint electorate principle.

## EDITORS' STANDING COMMITTEE

The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference met on July 10, 11 and 12. Mr. Devadas Gandhi, the Managing Editor of the *Hindustan Times*, presided.

On July 10, the Committee heard and discussed the reports of the Provincial Conveners. In the evening the Viceroy had an off-the-record talk with the Committee on the political developments, and answered questions put by the Editors.

On the 11th the Committee discussed the position in Bombay, and matters relating to the working of the Central Press Advisory Committee.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. John Matthai, and Mr. S. N. Majumdar, Secretary of the Information Department, joined the members at lunch. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke to the Editors informally for over an hour, answering questions, and explaining some of the recent political moves in their fuller perspective.

The next day the Committee discussed the position of the Press in the Punjab and also codes and conventions governing the publication of news and comments regarding communal disorders.

## OWNERSHIP OF NEWSPAPERS IN FRANCE

No shareholder will be allowed to hold more than one-tenth of a French newspaper company's capital in a Bill, introduced in the National Assembly and outlined recently by M. Pierre Bourdan, Minister of Information, becomes law.

The Bill, he said, was designed to safeguard public opinion from undue influence, among other things. Under its terms, (1) Every newspaper must, in future, be owned by a limited Company, (2) This Company must have at least ten shareholders. (3) A shareholder cannot own more than one-tenth of the capital; and (4) nobody owning a predominant share in an industrial undertaking of over 10,000,000 francs capital can be a shareholder in a newspaper enterprise.

## DR. P. P. PILLAI FOR U. N.

The appointment is announced of Dr. P. P. Pillai, as India's Representative to the United Nations, at New York with the rank of Minister.

Dr. Pillai was holding the appointment of Director of the Indian Branch of the International Labour Office, New Delhi. He was Chairman of the Commission which the International Labour Organisation sent out early this year to Asia to study labour conditions there and prepare the ground for the forth-coming Asian Regional Conference.

## DR. LOKANATHAN

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, the Indian Economist, left Karachi on the 10th July by air for New York to attend the meeting of the U. N. Economic Commission (Far Eastern Region) at ~~London~~ Success. Dr. Lokanathan will proceed to Shanghai in October next where he will work as Secretary to the Commission.

## MR. JINNAH : GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF PAKISTAN

The present Viceroy of India, Admiral Lord Mountbatten, has been recommended as Governor-General of India and Mr. M. A. Jinnah as Governor-General of Pakistan, the Prime Minister Mr. Clement Attlee announced in the House of Commons.

## MR. A. D. MANI

Mr. A. D. Mani, Editor of *Hitavada* is shortly visiting the U. K., and the U. S. A. He has been asked, by the C. P. Government, to examine the scheme of nationalisation of coal industry and transport both in the U. K. and the U. S. A.

## MR. K. L. PUNJABI

An Indian Consulate-General will be opened in Batavia at the beginning of August. The Consul-General will be Mr. K. L. Punjabi, who is now Indian Food representative in Batavia.

## MAHARAJAH OF VIZIANAGARAM

Maharejkumar Sir Vijaya Anand of Vizianagaram has renounced his Knighthood.

## TUBERCULOSIS

Hundreds of tuberculosis sufferers in France have written to two Paris doctors who claim the cure of 20,000 patients through a new treatment which they have perfected.

The doctors, who have been cleared of the accusation that they were 'frauds', say that in their injections they use serum obtained from the culture on treated potatoes soaked in glycerine, and they had had 30 per cent success.

At their Paris clinic, supported by voluntary contributions, they are being overwhelmed by new patients following the investigation by an official French medical body which has acquitted them of 'quackery' charges.

The doctors state that their cures of patients in the early stages of the disease are as high as 95 per cent., but in the more advanced stages they can only secure 20 per cent, to 30 per cent, of the complete cures.

## ELEPHANTIASIS

New hope for elephantiasis, that dreaded tropical disease which is widely prevalent in Cochin, Malabar and south Kanara, comes from America.

Scientists of the Western Reserve University report that treatment by a cyanine dye, used in photography as a colour sensitiser, has given encouraging result. The dye is known in the University laboratory as "No. 863" and rats infested with filarial worms were almost invariably cured by it. Clinical trials on 27 elephantiasis sufferers at the school of Tropical Medicine, San Juan, Puerto Rico, it is stated, have also shown results, although it will be months before it can be proved definitely that parent worms have been killed.

## HEART OPERATION

A surgeon at a Tennessee Hospital took a man's heart in his hand and "peeled it like an orange". The operation was dramatic and risky but it saved the life of a Naval ex-serviceman, John Bridges.

## MADRAS HEALTH CONFERENCE

The Secretary, Health Propaganda Board writes: The Health Propaganda Board has proposed that a Conference be convened to consider the report of the Health Survey and Development Committee (Bhore Committee's Report) and evolve a Health scheme for the Presidency. It is the purpose of the Conference to bring together workers and others interested in health welfare work and give them an opportunity to discuss the problems, local and general, that have arisen in the actual working of health welfare schemes and suggest ways and means in the light of the recommendations of the Bhore Committee Report.

## RESEARCH ON COCONUT PRODUCTS

The Indian Central Coconut Committee, it is understood, has on the recommendation of a special Sub-Committee decided to conduct intensive research into a number of technological problems bearing on coconut. In this connection, the Committee has asked the University of Madras whether facilities are available in any of the college or institutions under the University to undertake intensive research on coconut products.

## NUTRITION IN VANASPATHI

The Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, has taken up a major programme of animal-feeding experiments, human metabolism studios, and institutional feeding to find out the nutritive value of Vanaspathi when fed to South Indians. The work will be done both in Bangalore and Mysore.

## CAUSE FOR COLD

Got a cold? Then you may have caught it because you were bad tempered, says Dr. Harold Wolff, a Chicago doctor.

If you lose your temper, says Dr. Wolff, you set this chain in action:

Your nasal air passages contract.

Your nasal membranes swell a little.

Any germs that may be lurking in your nose get their chance.

**POST OFFICE CASH CERTIFICATES**

Post Office cash certificates have ceased to be issued since the close of business on June 14, 1947, says a Press Note.

With effect from June 16, 1947, however, the maximum limit of holding of National Savings Certificates by an individual (including the holding in Cash Certificates, if any), has been raised to Rs. 15,000 and that for two holders jointly (including the holding in cash certificates if any) has been raised to Rs. 30,000.

The period of non-encashability of National Savings Certificates of Rs 5 denomination, issued on or after June 16, 1947, has been fixed at one year from the date of purchase.

For certificates of other denominations issued on or after June 16, 1947, the period of non-encashability has been fixed at 18 months from the date of purchase.

**THE PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK**

The decision of the Punjab National Bank—one of the leading banks of N. India—to shift its Registered Office (Head Office) from Lahore to Delhi in view of the impending partition of the Punjab, was confirmed when the Lahore High Court, approved the resolution passed by the share-holders of the Bank

**INDO-COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.**

The Net Profit of the Indo-Commercial Bank Ltd., for the half year ended June 30 after meeting Depositors' interest, establishment and other charges (subject to audit) is Rs. 3,72,279-9-1, which together with last year's brought forward balance of Rs. 11,534-0-4, amounts to Rs. 3,83,813-9-5.

**RESTRICTION ON REMITTANCES**

In order to obviate the possibility of large remittances of capital from India to sterling area countries, pending the negotiation of an interim agreement with H.M.G., the Government of India have found it necessary to limit remittances to those required for definite trade payments and personal remittances of moderate amounts, says a Press Note.

**RAILWAY DEMURRAGE**

Railways are tightening up their wharfage and demurrage rules. This, says a Press Note, is not a revenue measure, but one designed to increase wagon availability by reducing the free time allowed for loading and unloading wagons and for removing goods from railway premises.

The all-out efforts which the railways are making to speed up wagon turn-round with the object of providing more wagons for expanding industry and the normal requirements of trade must not be hampered by congestion in goods sheds or by delays in loading or unloading wagons.

The railways are confident that in this matter they will receive from the commercial and trading communities that unstinted co-operation which was so readily forthcoming and proved so valuable during the war years.

**INTER CLASS SLEEPER EXPERIMENT**

Ward cars, returned by military authorities to the Railway, have been turned to good account by conversions into inter-class sleepers. First introduced on the Calcutta-Darjeeling section, the experiment was later extended to the Benares-Delhi line and now to the service to Dehra Dun with considerable success.

It will be at least a year before a real inter-class sleeping car is put on the rails. This will be when the model "Silver Arrow" train, now on exhibition throughout India, has been finally approved and manufactured in large numbers.

**PARTITION OF N. W. RAILWAY**

As a result of representation made by the Punjab Muslim League the special committees set up in connection with the partition of N.W. Railway have been reconstituted so as to provide equal representation for Muslims and non-Muslims. Each committee now consists of two officers, one Muslim and one non-Muslim of equal rank. All matters concerning partition will be finally scrutinised by a Standing Committee comprising two Muslim and two non-Muslim officers.

## MADRAS KALAKSHETRA

The well-known exponent of Bharata Natya, Srimati Rukmini Devi, founded the International Academy of Arts in 1936. The institution which was later named Kalakshetra, provides facilities for all-round artistic education and, though modern, does not neglect ancient Indian principles of art.

The foundation of Kalakshetra—originally called the International Art Centre—at Adyar, Madras, in January 1935, arose out of the emergence of Srimati Rukmini Devi as an artist of the front rank. The revelation of her genius as a performer of Bharata Natya (the classical dance of South India) was acclaimed by a large audience at Adyar which contained a number of experts and scholars in the art. A great artist and a revival of interest in the art which she had adopted had coincided.

## SJT. HAREN GHOSH

Lovers of art throughout the country and the numerous personal friends of Sjt. Haren Ghosh, the well-known Impresario of Calcutta, will be shocked to learn of his tragic end in revolting circumstances. His body was found hacked to pieces in a suitcase in the Taltola area and presumably, says the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, he has been a victim to the communal madness raging in Calcutta with renewed violence for the past several months. We do not find words strong enough to condemn such cowardly murders of innocent and unprotected citizens.

## BHATKHANDE 'VARSITY

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Premier of U. P., presiding over the fourth convocation of the Bhakthande University of Indian music at Lucknow April 5, indicated the vital role of music in Indian culture and emphasised its importance for the purpose of raising the standard of society.

Prof. P. Sambamoorthy, head of the department of Indian music, Madras University, delivered the convocation address.

## OLYMPIC GAMES

Twenty-seven nations have now accepted the invitation to participate in Olympic games in London next year (July 29 to August 14).

Latest replies are from: Australia, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, Hungary, Finland, France, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Palestine, Poland, Spain, Switzerland and Turkey.

Previous acceptors were: Bulgaria, Canada, Eire, Great Britain, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden.

Acceptances are accompanied by expression of enthusiasm for the games and heavy entries are being received.

The British team is expected to number 348. Every event will be competed for. France expects to send 308 competitors, Switzerland 270 and Norway over 150. Hungary expects to enter for nearly every event and Cuba has nominated athletics, basketball, boxing, fencing, gymnastics, skating, shooting, swimming, weightlifting, wrestling and yachting.

## LORD TEMPLEWOOD ON SPORT

"Whatever happens between India and Britain in the near future, I know that sport between the two countries will continue for ever", said Viscount Templewood, President of the Lawn Tennis Association, at a luncheon in London in honour of the Indian Davis Cup team which competed at Wimbledon.

Mr. J. Chinna Durai, Foreign Secretary of the All-India Lawn Tennis Association and representing the Calcutta South Club which gave the luncheon, presided and Earl of Listowel, Secretary for India, and Lord Templewood were chief guests. Members of the American, Dutch and British Lawn Tennis teams were present.

Lord Templewood made a reference to the many recent British failures in the sporting world.

"If we are dying and I don't think we are, remember to put on our tombstone that we spread sport from end of the world to the other," concluded Lord Templewood.

# TYROSINE

The University of California announces success in the manufacture of a radio-active amina acid, the first of its kind.

It is tyrosine, one of a number of amino acids which form the foundation of all living matter. It was synthesized so that it contained a radio-active form of carbon.

How living organisms put the amino acids together, or rebuild them to apply individual bodily needs, is one of the prime scientific mysteries.

The addition of radio-active carbon as a tracer element in tyrosine gives scientists a new means of studying this mystery.

## PEST-CONTROL SCHEME

A big pest-control scheme has been evolved by a team of scientists, headed by Dr. Walter Ripper. Working at the village of Harston, near Cambridge, the scientists have discovered new methods of fighting pest weeds and diseases which do much damage to food crops in almost all countries. Their latest success is a spray, by the application of which tobacco crops are saved from 'frog eye', a fungus disease which sometimes destroys as much as a third of the crop.

## SOLAR ENERGY

The use of energy from the sun's power has been brought a step closer by the work of Soviet scientists. They have produced a new type of photo-electric cell reported to be 25 times more efficient than the old type.

The scientists, now aiming at enlarging the cells, say success will mean that utilisation of solar energy is practicable. A cell of one metre square would provide electric power of ten watts.

## INDIAN SCIENCE INSTITUTE

Sir Ardeshir Dalal has been elected Chairman of the Indian Institute of Science, vice Sir M. Visvesvarayya, who has tendered his resignation owing to reasons of health at a meeting of the Court of the Indian Institute held on June 28.

# MR. MADHU BOSE

Mr. Madhu Bose, a film producer and director, has been granted judicial separation from his actress wife, Sadhona Bose by Mr. Justice Edgley at the Calcutta High Court. The order was passed on a petition by Mr. Madhu Bose who asked for judicial separation from Sadhona Bose, the respondent, on grounds of alleged desertion and cruelty. His Lordship granted the petitioner a decree for judicial separation from the respondent and ordered him to pay Rs. 300 per month to the respondent as maintenance.

## BIGGEST FILM DEAL

The biggest financial deal in the Indian film world has been recently put through in connection with Uday Shankar's Kalpana, which is nearing completion at the Gemini Studios. Sir Chinubhai's partnership share in this film is said to have been acquired by the wellknown financier, Seth Keshavadeo Peddar of the Great International Film Ltd, of Bombay, at a colossal price of thirty lakhs of rupees.

## NEW CINEMA SCREEN

Technicians of the film organisation, Messrs Arthur J Rang, are investigating the claims that the new American Cinema screen brings every seat in the house—in effect—into the centre section for purposes of viewing.

In addition to eliminating distortion, it is claimed, the new screen also gives an illusion of depth.

## INDIAN FILMS IN HOLLYWOOD

Mr. Vijay Bhatt, the Indian film producer and director who was in New York after a month's visit to Hollywood declared that Indian films were 'highly praised and greatly appreciated' by leaders of the American film industry.

## INDIA AND WORLD-HIT FILMS

India can to-day provide story material for many 'world-hit' films—especially those of spectacular historical-fiction type. This was the opinion expressed to *Globe* by Mr. Ezra Mir.



### NATIONALISATION OF TRANSPORT

The Government of Madras is understood to have accorded sanction to the five-year plan of nationalisation of motor transport in the Province.

The first stage is to be undertaken in Madras City with effect from October 1.

The capital outlay in respect of nationalisation in Madras City is estimated at Rs. 67 lakhs. The cost of the entire scheme for the Province is to run to Rs. 10 crores.

The nationalisation is expected to yield a net revenue of Rs 13 lakhs to the Government annually.

The question of setting up a Committee to value the roadworthy buses belonging to operating companies, will be taken up by the Government shortly.

### PREFABRICATED BUSES

Prefabricated buses, which can be assembled as simply as the parts of a Meccano set, are now being made by a U. K. firm for its overseas markets.

The revolutionary technique on which the construction is based effects 20 per cent reduction in weight. In addition to providing a bus body of strength and durability, the technique ensures considerable economy in fuel consumption, tyre wear and operating costs.

The framework of a single-deck bus can be assembled in 12 man-hours while that of a double-decker takes 22 hours.

### TAX ON CARS IN ENGLAND

A change in the system of taxing British motor cars to assist the export drive was announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dr Hugh Dalton, in the House of Commons recently.

Instead of the present horse-power tax there will be an annual flat rate licence fee of 10 sterling after January 1, 1948. All cars registered up to then will be taxed as at present.

### REVISION OF AIR MAIL RATES

A general revision of air mail fees from India to other countries takes effect from June, 1, 1947. The reduction in rates is substantial in most cases. The following revised rates (per half ounce) are illustrative of the reductions made:

For South-East Asia, Middle East countries, South East Europe 10 as; U. K. France, Australia, Ethiopia etc. 12 as; the rest of Europe, Africa and Oceania (New Zealand etc) 14 as; China, U. S. A. Canada, Newfoundland, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Chile Re. 1-20; Central American countries and West Indies Re. 1-60; and the rest of South America Re 1-10-0. These rates are inclusive of postage and not additional to it.

Special light weight 'air letters' service will be available for U. S. A., Canada and Newfoundland at 8 as. and for U. K., Egypt, Kenya, South Africa, Malaya, Australia, New Zealand and some other countries at 6 as.

### INDIA MADE PLANES

The first aircraft to be manufactured in India will be out in January 1948, according to Mr. C G. Whitehead, purchasing officer of the Hindustan Aircraft Co.

Mr. Whitehead said in an interview that these aircraft when produced would be of the latest and fully up-to-date models and would be used for the RIAF. in India mainly for training purpose.

### 100 PASSENGER FLYING BOAT

A flying-boat, known for the time being as SR/45, which is to transport no fewer than 100 passengers on the most exacting air route in the world, is under construction in Britain. Powered by six gas-turbines, each developing 5,000 h.p., the new flying-boat will be able to fly 5,000 miles fully loaded at a speed of 300 m.p.h. It is proposed to use the SR/45 on the direct London-New York service, where aircraft have to face the prospect of a continuous headwind of 60 m.p.h.

## TEXTILE DE-CONTROL

The Government of India are considering proposals to step up the production of textiles and to improve the distribution machinery.

It is stated, in this connection, that it is extremely unlikely any steps will be taken to lift the textile control or that the Government will take any risks by removing the price control.

Speculations that have been rife regarding decontrol of textiles, it is pointed out, are so very contradictory that they cancel one another. Nevertheless these rumours have done some good in that many people who previously urged lifting of the controls have begun to reappraise the position.

Actually when there were suggestions for removal of the controls, it is understood the Supply Member, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, received numerous representations deprecating any hasty step by way of de-control.

## TEXTILE RESEARCH

The Cotton Textiles Fund Committee has decided to set up an up-to-date Textile Research Institute in India at an estimated cost of approximately Rs. 50 lakhs. The Institute, which will run by the Cotton Textiles Fund Committee under the aegis of the Government of India, will carry on both fundamental and applied research in branches of the textile industry. In the initial stage, however, emphasis will be laid on the development of the technique of mechanical processing of cotton and allied fibres.

A Director, with considerable knowledge of textile technology as applied to the cotton textile industry, will be in charge of this Institute. Details of the plans for the opening of the proposed Institute are being worked out by the Committee, the venue for which is expected to be in Bombay Province.

## ALL-INDIA INDUSTRIES

The Travancore Government propose to participate in the All-India Industrial and Commercial Exhibition organised by the Government of Sind at Karachi.

## SEA WATER FOR IRRIGATION

A novel scheme under which the rays of the sun will be harnessed for the purpose of converting sea water into palatable water and utilised for irrigation of waste regions of Thar-Rajputana desert, was disclosed by Dean Saidman, Director of the Institute of Actinology, Paris, who is now in India on invitation from the Jamsaheb of Nawanagar.

Dr. Saidman said that India was a land of sunshine and was in a better position to extract the energy from the sun. He stated that a powerful solarium would be employed to raise the temperature of sea water to boiling point and, thereafter, reconvert the vapour into pure distilled water. The unlimited supply of sea water as well as the rays of the sun will be fully exploited to produce the requisite water which would be rushed towards the non-cultivable desert for irrigation by means of huge pipes.

## POTATO

The potato was first brought into cultivation by the Indians of Cuzco and Lake Titicaca, South America, at least as early as the second century, states J. G. Hawkes, M.A., Ph.D., in *Discovery*.

From its centre of origin, it spread both northward and southward along the Andes in different species. The first written record by Europeans dates back to 1537, when it was seen in Columbia. Brought to Spain about 1570, it spread to other European countries, reaching England between 1581 and 1596. It did not become universally popular until the middle of the 18th century.

## NEW PROCESSES

"The Food Department of the Government of India has sponsored some researches on soya bean milk, seed cakes, vanaspathi, vitamin concentrates etc., which have all got implications in the food problem of the country. Food yeast is another valuable nutritive material which can be cheaply produced from molasses. It is necessary that an unconventional attitude is taken to the food problem so that unusual food can be produced by new processes.

## B &amp; C MILLS DISPUTE

A Court of Enquiry, consisting of a High Court Judge has been constituted to enquire into and adjudicate the dispute between workers and the management of the B and C Mills in Madras City.

The High Court have agreed to lend the services of Mr Justice K P Lakshmana Rao to constitute the Court of Enquiry. He will hold a preliminary enquiry and frame issues in respect of the dispute before adjudicating.

The Court will be assisted by two assessors, one on behalf of the workers and another on behalf of the management.

The Court, so far as can be gathered, will function in a few weeks and in the meantime, it is believed, the ban on the Madras Labour Union and the restrictions on some of its leaders would be removed if the present improvement in the situation is maintained.

## UNREST AMONG INDIAN WORKERS

Speaking at the International Labour Conference Mr N M Joshi, India's delegate, said there was serious unrest among Indian workers. Unemployment faced many of them because the Government had made hardly any attempt to convert from war to peace production.

Housing was not being adequately tackled, and sermons were not enough to get increased production from Indian workers.

Mr. Joshi said the International Labour Office should do more to bring the pressure of world opinion on Governments to see that its draft convention was applied.

## PROVIDENT FUND FOR COLLIERY WORKERS

The Government of India, it is understood, are in consultation with the representatives of colliery owners and workers of Bengal and Bihar for framing rules for the institution of the compulsory Provident Fund Scheme for coalminers, as recommended by the Board of Conciliation (Coalfields Dispute).

## THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Dr Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, has appointed a Special Committee consisting of Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar, Mr K M Munshi, Dr Ambedkar and Sir B. N. Rau to consider the effect of the secession of certain areas on the title of certain members of the Constituent Assembly.

The Special Committee will also consider the question of effecting amendments to the Objectives Resolution.

## POLAR EXPLORER'S PLAN

Rear-Admiral Richard Byrd, back in Washington from his Antarctic expedition, said that the vast Polar ice-car was a natural refrigerator for the storage of surplus crops.

He added: "The world need never have another famine." Surplus food could be stored away as an insurance against lean years. I am pretty sure it would keep perfectly.

## COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE

With the emergence of the Dominions of India and Pakistan, the Commonwealth Relations Office (which was till the other day known as the Dominions Office) will play an important role in the future development of the social, economic and political life of the Indian people, after their long lost freedom.

## I.N.A. RELIEF FUND

Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, President of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* I.N.A. Relief Fund has handed over another cheque for Rs 25,000 to Sardar Vallabhai Patel, President, All-India I.N.A. Enquiry and Relief Committee thus bringing the contribution from the *Patrika* Fund to 115,000 so far.

## NO MORE 'CASTE'

It is understood that the Government of United Provinces are shortly issuing orders to delete the word "caste" from all Government forms or papers. This will not apply to the scheduled Castes.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 48.]

SEPTEMBER 1947

[No. 9.]

## LIBERATED INDIA

AUGUST 15, 1947 will go down in history as a red-letter day in our annals. That date will remain as memorable for India as the 4th of July for U. S. A. For it marks the end of an era of subjection and the opening of a new age of freedom and power. Two centuries of British rule came to an end that day by the "voluntary transfer of power and handing over of the Government of India" to the chosen representatives of the people. The day of liberation is the day of rejoicing.

But there are features in this work of liberation which make it altogether unique in the history of nations, work too of which both Britain and India have reason to be proud, in spite of aberrations the memory of which may still linger in our minds. There is no record of a nation in power voluntarily relinquishing its authority over another. It has an added significance that it has all been done with such grace, and without violence and bloodshed in an age of aerial warfare and atom bombs. Nor can we forget the notable contribution of India which, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, fought the good fight with non-violent technique and saved the country from the calamities of a bloody revolution.

Our Victory is therefore all the more remarkable. But lest it should unhinge our minds in the hour of triumph the jealous gods have withheld the full fruition of our efforts; while independence has been achieved, that unity for which we laboured has been denied. Our joy is therefore somewhat tempered with a touch of sadness. But it would be churlish to harbour resentment or ill will

against anybody in the face of the astounding achievement of complete freedom. It may be we do not yet deserve the full fruition of our efforts, or it may be that we shall evolve a new technique and a more flexible form of union between the sundered parts which nature and tradition have made one. Ideals when fully achieved cease to be ideals, and may be, this failure will spur us to more heart-searching and sustained effort for a more real unity.

We cannot, on an occasion like this, forget the noble services and sacrifices of three generations of known and unknown patriots. It is also possible that two centuries of subjection have left many a scar, but at this hour of thanksgiving it behoves us to forget and forgive the many lapses of the past and forge ahead with the great problems of reconstruction and recuperation which the country so sorely needs. For the achievement of freedom must be justified by our capacity to maintain it untrampled. The hour of recrimination is passed, and we must concentrate on the future and prove ourselves worthy of the gift of freedom that has dawned on us after centuries of darkness.

It is for us to show by our efforts that the freedom that we have won is not the freedom of this class or that, but of the whole nation, irrespective of caste or colour, and that it means ultimately sufficient food and raiment and shelter for the needy, a living wage for all, real happiness and prosperity for the common man and abounding opportunity for every citizen to rise to the full height of his stature.

# THE BIRTH OF FREE INDIA

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THE historic occasion of the transfer of power was celebrated all over the country with great rejoicings and demonstrations of popular enthusiasm. The assumption of power by the Union Constituent Assembly was marked by scenes of great splendour and solemnity. The New Dominion of India was born on the stroke of midnight on Thursday 14th August when the Constituent Assembly, at its historic session in Delhi assumed power for the Governance of the country and signified its approval of the choice of Lord Louis Mountbatten as the first Governor-General of the Dominion.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Assembly, addressing a hushed house expressed grateful thanks to the Almighty and recalled in grateful remembrance the services of all those, known and unknown, who sacrificed themselves for the attainment of independence. "Let us also pay our tribute of love and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi who has been our beacon light, our guide and philosopher during the last thirty years or more", he said.

Assuring all the countries of the world that we would stick to our historic tradition of friendship and unity with all and that we have no designs against any one, he remarked:

We have only one ambition and desire, and that is to make our contribution to the building up of freedom for all and peace among mankind.

Then he referred to the painful separation of "the country which was made by God and Nature to be one" "but which stands divided today"—and wished to send his greetings and good wishes to the people of Pakistan.

To those who feel like us but are on the other side of the borders, we send a word of cheer. They should not give way to panic but should stick to their hearths and homes, their religion and culture and cultivate the qualities of courage and forbearance. They have no reason to fear that they will not get protection and just and fair treatment and they should not become victims of doubt and suspicion. They must accept the assurances publicly given and win their rightful place in the policy of the State where they are placed by their loyalty to it.

He concluded with an assurance to all the minorities in India,

that they will receive fair and just treatment and there will be no discrimination in any form against them. Their religion, their culture and their language are safe and they will enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizenship, and will be expected, in their turn, to render loyalty to the country in which they live and to its constitution. To all, we give the assurance that it will be our endeavour to end poverty and squalor and its companions, hunger and disease, to abolish distinctions and exploitation and to ensure decent conditions of living.

Moving the resolution prescribing the oath to the members of the Assembly Pandit Nehru, in an inspiring address urged them to dedicate themselves to the service of India and her people.

The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. The ambition of the greatest man of our generation has been to wipe every tear from every eye. That may be beyond us, but so long as there are tears and suffering, so long our work will not be over.

And so we have to labour and to work and work hard to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India but they are also for all the nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible. So is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this 'One World' that can no longer be split into isolated fragments.

To the people of India, whose representatives we are, we make appeal to join us with faith and confidence in this great adventure. This is no time for petty and destructive criticism, no time for ill-will or blaming others. We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell.

The work before the House is not mere show, he said:

Upon this House rests the great responsibility of framing a constitution which will safeguard the interests of not only the majority community, but also of the minorities and will look to the well-being of the rich and the poor alike. The grave responsibility of carrying on the administration, is a thankless job and the House must be prepared to stand up to criticism.

The pledge reads:

"At this solemn moment, when the people of India, through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom, I..... a member of the Constituent Assembly of India do dedicate myself in all

humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

Pandit Nehru's resolution was seconded by Chandhuri Khaliq-uz-Zaman, leader of the Muslim League Party, who said:

To-night before the entire world we pledge that we shall work in the interest of the State to which we shall be loyal, and personal interest will not stand in the way of our serving the country.

Dr. S Radhakrishnan, supporting the resolution made a profound impression on the House. He said:

When we are passing from a state of serfdom, slavery and subjection to freedom it is an occasion which is as happy as it is unique, that it is being effected in such an orderly and dignified way. When we see what the Dutch are doing in Indonesia and the French are doing in their possessions, we cannot but admire the political sagacity and courage of the British people." (Cheers)

Contrasting the violent methods used by other subject peoples in history to achieve freedom and the methods used by India, Dr. Radhakrishnan said:

Here in this land, under the leadership of one who will go down in history as perhaps the greatest man of our age (cheers), we have opposed patience to fury, quietness of spirit to bureaucratic tyrannies, with the result that the transition is being effected with the least bitterness, with utterly no kind of hatred. The very fact that we are appointing Lord Mountbatten as the Governor-General of India shows the spirit of understanding and friendliness in which this whole transition is being effected." (Cheers).

### Presentation of National Flag

In the absence of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (who had gone to Lucknow to take charge of the Governorship of U.P.) Mrs. Hansa Mehta presented a National Flag to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the women of India. It is in the fitness of things, she said,

that the first flag flying over this august House should be a gift from the women of India (cheers). We have donned the saffron colour, we have fought, suffered and sacrificed in the cause of our country's freedom. In presenting this symbol of freedom, we once more offer our services to the nation. We pledge ourselves to work for a great India, for the building up of a nation that will be a nation among nations. We pledge ourselves to maintain the freedom that we have achieved.

We have great traditions to maintain, traditions that made India so great in the past. It is the duty of every man and woman to preserve these traditions so that India may hold her spiritual supremacy over the world.

Before adjourning the Assembly, the President, at the stroke of 12, announced that himself and Pandit Nehru would proceed "forthwith" to Lord Mountbatten and convey to him the decision of the House.

After a short and simple ceremony at the Government House Lord Mountbatten took informal charge of Governor-Generalship as requested by Pandit Nehru.

The Viceroy told the two leaders that he was extremely honoured by their visit. He further said he was honoured when he was nominated the first Governor-General of the New India. "Dr. Prasad and Pandit Nehru, I have great pleasure in accepting the invitation extended by the Constituent Assembly", he added.

Further, Lord Mountbatten said he was proud to observe the way the ceremony was conducted, especially the constitutional manner in which the Constituent Assembly carried on its work. In conclusion, he thanked the two leaders on behalf of Lady Mountbatten and himself.

### The King's Message

The Indian Dominion Parliament met the next morning (Friday, 15th) for the final act in the drama of transfer of power from British to Indian hands. Lord Mountbatten opened the proceedings with a message from H. M. the King.

"On this historic day when India takes her place as a free and independent Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, I send you all my greetings and heartfelt wishes. Freedom loving people everywhere will wish to share in your celebrations, for with this transfer of power by consent comes the fulfilment of the great democratic ideal to which the British and Indian peoples alike are firmly dedicated. It is inspiring to think that all this has been achieved by means of peaceful change.

"Heavy responsibilities lie ahead of you, but when I consider the statesmanship you have already shown and the great sacrifices you have already made, I am confident that you will be worthy of your destiny. I pray that the blessings of the Almighty may rest upon you and that your

leaders may continue to be guided with wisdom in the tasks before them. May the blessings of friendship, tolerance and peace inspire you in your relations with the nations of the world. Be assured always of my sympathy in all your efforts to promote the prosperity of your people and the general welfare of mankind."

### The Governor-General's Speech

The Governor-General then referred to the task assigned to him of taking steps to implement H. M. G.'s resolve to transfer power by June 1948; how on arrival in India he realised that even that date was too late and that the tremendous operation should be completed earlier still; and how in this great work he had the unfailing co-operation and sustained assistance of leaders and officials alike. He referred to the negotiations with the States and paid a tribute to the sagacity and spirit of compromise evinced by the parties concerned, whereby within less than three weeks practically all the States concerned had signed the Instrument of Accession and the standstill agreement. There is thus established a unified political structure covering over 400 million people and the major part of this great sub-continent.

And then the greatest administrative operations of history—the partition of a Sub-continent of 400 million inhabitants and the transfer of power to two independent Governments has been carried out in less than two and a half months. "From to-day" declared Lord Mountbatten, "I am your constitutional Governor-General and would ask you to regard me as one of yourselves devoted wholly to the furtherance of India's interests." He concluded with a feeling reference to Mahatma Gandhi:

At this historic moment, let us not forget all that India owes to Mahatma Gandhi—the architect of her freedom through non-violence. We miss his presence here to-day, and would have him know how much he is in our thoughts.

### The President's Speech

The President Babu Rajendra Prasad, in his reply reaffirmed faith in the unity of India and called for constructive effort to improve the conditions of the people. "More than a day of rejoicing it is a day of dedication for all of us to build the India of our dreams", he said.

"Let us resolve to create conditions in this country when every individual will be free and provided with the wherewithal to develop and rise to his fullest stature, when poverty and squalor and ignorance and ill-health will have vanished, when the distinction between high and low, between rich and poor, will have disappeared, when religion will not only be professed and preached and practised freely but will have become a cementing force for binding man to man and not serve as a disturbing and disrupting force dividing and separating, when untouchability will have been forgotten like and unpleasant night dream, when exploitation of man by man will have ceased, when facilities and special arrangements will have been provided for the *adivasis* of India and for all others who are backward, to enable them to catch up with others and when this land will have not only enough food to feed its teeming millions but will once again have become a land flowing with rivers of milk, when men and women will be laughing and working for all they are worth in fields and factories, when every cottage and hamlet will be humming with the sweet music of village handicrafts and maids will be busy with them and singing to their tune—when the sun and the moon will be shining on happy homes and loving faces.

### Pandit Nehru's tribute to Br. Troops

The first batch of British Troops left India on the 17th August. Pandit Nehru, paying a tribute to them said in his farewell message:

During the last few days vital changes have taken place in the relationship between India and England. The bonds that tied India to England against the wishes of her people have been removed, resulting in a far more friendly feeling in India towards England than at any time previously.

Few things are more significant of this change than the withdrawal of British troops from India. Foreign armies are the most obvious symbols of foreign rule. They are essentially armies of occupation and as such their presence must inevitably be resented. No soldier likes this business, for it is neither war nor peace but a continuing tension and living in a hostile atmosphere. I am sure that sensitive British Officers and men must have disliked being placed in this abnormal position.

It is good therefore for all concerned that the British armed forces in India are being withdrawn and are going home to serve their country in other ways.

As an Indian I have long demanded the withdrawal of Forces from India. But I had no grievance against them as individuals and I liked and admired many whom I came across.

On the occasion of the departure of the first contingent of British troops from India, I wish them godspeed and trust that between them and the soldiers and people of India there will be goodwill and friendship.

# LEADERS' MESSAGES

Independence day—August 15—was marked by demonstrations of public rejoicings all over the country. Indeed, Indians settled in every part of the world, far beyond the seas, observed the day with a dignity and enthusiasm worthy of the great occasion. Flag hoisting, illuminations, processions, public meetings, feasting and fasting, prayers and thanksgiving in Temples and Mosques and Churches were universal features of the day. Every village and hamlet, every town and city observed the great day of liberation with pomp and ceremony. People gathered in their thousands and hundreds of thousands to herald the dawn of the new era of freedom and power. Messages from leaders of the country no less than from men of mark all over the world came pouring in. In the following pages a few select messages from the leaders of the people are culled for the benefit of the readers.—[Ed. A. R.]

## Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materialises. May the star never set and that hope never be betrayed.

We rejoice in that freedom, even though clouds surround us, and many of our people are sorrow-stricken and difficult problems encompass us. But freedom brings responsibilities and burdens and we have to face them in the spirit of a free and disciplined people.

On this day our first thoughts go to the Architect of this freedom, the Father of our Nation who, embodying the old spirit of India, held aloft the torch of freedom and lighted by the darkness that surrounded us. We have often been unworthy followers of his and have strayed from his message, but not only we, but succeeding generations, will remember his message and bear the imprint in their hearts of this great son of India, magnificent in his faith and strength and courage and humility. We shall never allow that torch of freedom to be blown out, however high the wind or stormy the tempest.

Our next thoughts must be of the unknown volunteers and soldiers of freedom who, without praise or reward, have served India even unto death.

We think also of our brothers and sisters who have been cut off from us by political boundaries and who unhappily cannot share at present in the freedom that has come. They are of us and will remain of us whatever may happen, and

we shall be sharers in their good and ill fortune alike.

The future beckons to us. Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and workers of India. To fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease. To build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.

## Acharya Kripalani

This revolution which has ushered the birth of freedom for this land is a unique one in the history of the world. Never before was so great an event transforming the destiny of so many millions of men and women consummated with such little bloodshed and violence. This is a triumph not of one brute might over another but of the spirit of freedom and humanity over the blinding greed of imperialism. That this has been possible is due to the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who, if any man may be so called, is the Father of our Nation. He has led us in the non-violent battle for freedom and he has shown us the way to make this freedom fruitful in the service of our people. To him we pay our homage.

We sought to achieve freedom for an India that was one and, to us, indivisible! And yet millions of our brothers and sisters who were our countrymen yesterday will to-day become subjects of a separate State. We accepted this separation, however painful, because freedom from foreign rule was the imperative necessity of



our national existence and unity without freedom had, turned into disunity. Freedom achieved unity may return, a unity truer than we had before.

Let us not be disheartened because freedom has not come in the full glory of a united India. The tragedy of the last few months which has set brother against brother and disfigured the fair face of this nation has cast a deep shadow of gloom in our hearts. Nevertheless, as a wounded soldier rejoices if he holds aloft the banner of freedom, even so we rejoice at the advent of this day.

#### Sardar Patel

For us the fortunate ones who have lived to see this day, the hour is one both of pride and glory. We are proud to have brought India to its goal and to acclaim the glorious results achieved by a long, sustained, peaceful and non-violent struggle under Gandhi's inspiring leadership. Although it must be acknowledged that the goal which we have reached is not the one that we had set out for, there is not the least doubt that there is nothing now to prevent us from moulding the future of India in the manner we like. It is our glory that we are free to share the fruits of the struggle with every man, woman and child in this vast sub-continent.

Let us not forget, however, in the joy of the hour, the stupendous responsibilities and obligations which freedom has brought in its wake. Our primary duty is jealousy to guard our freedom against dangers from within. We have also to ensure that the humblest among us has the same stature as the tallest in the land, that Labour gets its legitimate share of its product, that the toiling millions in villages obtain just return for the sweat of their brow, and that the State discharges adequately its elementary duty of feeding, clothing, housing and educating every son and daughter of the Motherland. It has now been given to us by Providence to fashion our country's destiny according to our cherished ideals and aspirations. If we fail the Motherland,

the blame will not lie at other's doors. Indeed, there are enormous difficulties and almost insuperable obstacles in our way but it is for us to overcome them.

#### Sri Aurobindo Ghosh

India is free but she has not achieved unity, only a fissured and broken freedom. At one time it almost seemed as if she might relapse into the chaos of separate States which preceded the British conquest. Fortunately there has now developed a strong possibility that this disastrous relapse will be avoided. The wisely drastic policy of the Constituent Assembly makes it possible that the problem of the depressed classes will be solved without schism or fissure. But the old communal division into Hindu and Muslim seems to have hardened into the figure of a permanent political division of the country. It is to be hoped that the Congress and the nation will not accept the settled fact as for ever settled or as anything more than a temporary expedient. For if it lasts, India may be seriously weakened, even crippled: civil strife may remain always possible, possible even a new invasion and foreign conquest. The partition of the country must go—it is to be hoped by a slackening of tension, by a progressive understanding of the need of peace and concord, by the constant necessity of common and concerted action, even of an instrument of union may come about under whatever form—the exact form may have a pragmatic but not a fundamental importance. But by whatever means, the division must and will go. For without it the destiny of India might be seriously impaired and even frustrated. But that must not be.

Asia has arisen and large parts of it have been liberated or are at this moment being liberated: its other still subject parts are moving through whatever struggles towards freedom. Only a little has to be done and that will be done to-day or to-morrow. There India has her part to play and has begun to play it with an energy and ability.

**Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru**

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a telegram to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, says: "I heartily congratulate you and your colleagues whose ceaseless efforts and patriotism under the inspiring guidance of Mahatma Gandhi have been crowned with attainment of freedom by India as a full sovereign State. Please offer my congratulations to the Constituent Assembly through Dr. Rajendra Prasad whom also I salute with you all the National Flag which you will hoist to-day."

**Babu Rajendra Prasad**

Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi and the great national leaders who preceded him, India too has taken its share in the historic pilgrimage of human freedom. The victory against foreign domination which we celebrate to-day is the nation's victory through its own efforts. But it is not the end of our job. Millions face privation, hunger and disease and to conquer these, petty quarrels will need to be forgotten and sectional self-interest laid aside. India faces a colossal task in harnessing the enthusiasm and energy of the people to the requirements of an Independent nation.

**Maulana Azad**

The first phase of our national struggle has successfully ended. We have achieved freedom. This we could not have done without the fullest co-operation, unity and steadfastness of the entire nation. We would need these qualities still more in our second and more vital stage of national reconstruction. We should endeavour to utilise our newly won freedom in a manner which will make our freedom a real fulfilment of our hopes. Every Indian must, in this hour of need, respond to the call of the country and perform his or her duty loyally in whatever station of life he or she may be.

**Mrs. Sarojini Naidu**

India has taken the initial step to Independence. Her new tri-colour flag is as yet a guarantee rather than a complete achievement of freedom. Let not the people

be unduly distressed about the partition. It is only a geographical division and its duration depends largely on themselves and the wisdom, patience, sympathy and understanding of their attitude and ambition in relation to one another. Let us all believe and pursue the course in support of our belief that India is indeed one and indivisible and that the irresistible will of the temporarily separated kindred will recreate a new united India shaped and moulded in the glorious image of our heart's desire, an India that will take her predestined place among progressive nations bestowing the radiance of her wisdom upon the face of all humanity.

**Sri C. Rajagopalachari**

How I wish I were young again and had a chance to partake in the campaign of patient hard work and the cleansing of soul with patriotic identification of every man and woman with the State, so that self-government that is now established may also become good government. Our stables are large and really Herculean effort is required to clean them up. Every man and woman engaged in whatever walk of life from sweeper up to the administrative officer at the highest level should work with a smile on the face and unflagging vigilance for public welfare with an active feeling of complete identity between citizen and Government. What is wanted is not genius, but honest labour and patriotic spirit. Let us not waste time in idle talk or controversy, but spend every moment in some work profitable to body or spirit.

**Maharaja of Patiala**

August 15 is an outstanding landmark in the history of India. We are entering upon a new era and in a measurable time, India shall take its proper place as an independent sovereign State in the comity of nations. It is my firm faith that India has a mission to perform, a mission of goodwill, peace and universal brotherhood. Indeed, India must become an irresistible influence for the elimination of all violent conflicts in the world.

# THE INAUGURATION OF PAKISTAN

**K**ARACHI, the Capital city of the New Dominion of Pakistan, presented scenes of great splendour and colour on the occasion of the inauguration of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on August 14. Lord Mountbatten addressed the Assembly on the eve of attaining complete freedom. Quaid-e-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah, President of the Constituent Assembly was seated with the Viceroy, and the House was full. The Viceroy began by reading the message from the King.

This is His Majesty's message:

"I send you my greetings and warmest wishes on this great occasion when the New Dominion of Pakistan is about to take its place in the British Commonwealth of Nations. In thus achieving your independence by agreement, you have set an example to all freedom-loving people throughout the world."

I am confident, said the Viceroy,

that the statesmanship and the spirit of co-operation which have led to the historic developments you are now celebrating will be the best guarantee of your future happiness and prosperity. Great responsibilities lie ahead of your leaders. May the blessings of the Almighty sustain you in all your future tasks. Be assured always of my sympathy and support as I watch your continuing efforts to advance the cause of humanity.

After referring to the birth of Pakistan the Viceroy paid a tribute to Mr. Jinnah and expressed his good wishes to the new Governor-General. He recalled the joint appeal made by Mr. Jinnah and

Mahatma Gandhi and referred to the statement issued by the Pakistan Council reiterating the appeal:

The two Governments declared that "it is their intention to safeguard the legitimate interests of all citizens, irrespective of religion, caste or sex, in the exercise of their normal civic rights. All citizens will be regarded as equal and both Governments will assure to all people within their territories the exercise of liberties such as freedom of speech, the right to form associations, the right to worship in their own way and the protection of their language and culture. Both Governments further undertake that there shall be no discrimination against those who before August 15 have been political opponents.

The honouring of these words, continued the Viceroy, will mean nothing less than a Charter of Liberty for a fifth of the human race. And he concluded with a fervent appeal for political and religious toleration:

Nearly four centuries ago, your great Emperor Akbar was on the throne, whose reign was marked by a great degree of political and religious tolerance. Akbar's tradition has not always been consistently followed by Britons or Indians, but I pray, for the world's sake, that we will hold fast, in the years to come, to the principles that this great Emperor taught us.

Mr. Jinnah in his reply, after thanking His Majesty for his message and the Viceroy for his advice, said:

It will be our constant effort to work for the welfare and well-being of all the communities in Pakistan, and I hope that every one would be inspired by the ideals of public service and they will be imbued with the spirit of co-operation and will show their political and civic virtues which go to make a great nation.

# War and Our Standard of Living.

BY PROF. R. V. RAO, M.A., B.T.

*Head of the Dept. of Economics, Dharmendra Sinhi College, Rajkot.*

It is often argued that war means prosperity. While it may mean enormous profits to the trader and producer, high-wages to labourers, jobs in war-time departments and of course influx of paper money followed by considerable shrinkage of metallic backing, one has to say that this prosperity is illusory and ephemeral and a little thought will make us feel that it affected our standard of living and that we are much worse off. Vested interests and interested parties may argue that there was an increase in the purchasing power of the masses and this is said to be one of the causes of shortage of food, clothing, shelter and what not.

We cannot deny that those who joined the ranks of the army or other war-time departments were able to get all commodities which were in short supply and which civilians could not get. But these were not more than six millions. Even so far as the industrial workers are concerned, while it is true that in the beginning the wages rose comparatively higher than the prices of essentials of life, in the end, thanks to the monster of inflation and ricketing prices, they were also at no advantage.

A word may be said about agricultural wages. The Famine Inquiry Commission issued a questionnaire to the various provincial Governments as to how agricultural wages have risen in comparison with the prices of foodgrains during the war. While it may generally be said, that prices of food-grains rose proportionally much above wage of agricultural labourers. Still in

areas where military was stationed or works undertaken, there was a depletion of agricultural labour from that region leading to abnormal increase in wages. In a province like Madras, wages rose by 100 per cent over pre-war levels but prices of essential foodgrains like rice and ragi rose by 250 per cent and 340 per cent respectively. From this we can get the conclusion that wages did not go higher than the prices of commodities.

In a socially-stratified society like ours, the economic impact of war has brought about a sense of frustration among the middle classes. By inflation, the purchasing power of the intermediate is lessened progressively and the holder of such intermediate is deprived of his purchasing power without his being conscious of it. It is in effect a confiscation of property. Prof. C. N. Vakil rightly observed: "Inflation may be compared to robbery. Both deprive the victims of some possession with the difference that robbery is visible while inflation is invisible, the robber's act is sporadic, the robber's victim may be one or few at a time, the victims of inflation are the whole nation; the robber may be dragged to a court of law, inflation is legal." The thermometer of inflation is the price level. While in the U.K. and U.S.A. anti-inflationary measures were undertaken by their respective Governments, prices of commodities were allowed to mount up and even the fact of inflation was not admitted for a long time. The Government was following a literal policy of price-control by trying

to fix prices rather than by adjusting the price and currency mechanism. It was just like a doctor who tampers with the thermometer to get a low reading of the temperature

#### GERMAN EXPERIENCE

We may just pause, for a while and recollect German experience. Prof. C. B. Turrone rightly observes that depreciation of the currency caused in Germany the vastest expropriation of some classes of society that has ever been effected in times of peace. Besides those who possessed wealth in the form of securities or credits, there were numerous other individuals who lived totally on a fixed monthly income, old people, pensioners, etc. The depreciation destroyed what was often the sole income of those individuals. They were reduced to the most abject poverty. The disequilibrium created in the economic organisation was so profound that the national economy gained little from the creation of the new capital by inflation. It provoked a serious revolution in social classes, a few people accumulating wealth and forming a class of usurpers of national prosperity while millions of individuals were thrown into poverty. It was a constant torment of innumerable families. Prof. Turrone observes: "It is indeed easy enough to understand why the sad record of years 1919 to 1923 always weighs like a night-mare of the German people."

The United Kingdom Commercial Corporation was able to procure food-grains etc., at controlled rates. This was really robbing Peter to pay Paul. We might have saved Persia from famine and

India which is already underfed and underclothed should not have been deprived of essentials of life. Further half-starved and ill-clad India was forced to supply rupee finance against sterling securities.

#### WAR AND THE FARMERS

In Western Countries, high prices are good to farmers because their purchasing power can procure other desired things within the country. But in India the products of industries are few. Our farmers have no facilities to store their purchasing power. Further of what use is a rise in price, if the other goods like oil, dhal, etc., they need have gone higher still in prices? The higher money values they get for their produce do not compensate them for the still higher values they have to pay for the commodities which they need.

#### THE MIDDLE CLASS

Several surveys have been conducted to study the effect of war on the middle class so that we can devise ways and means to remedy the situation. The School of Economics and Sociology of the University of Bombay conducted an investigation into the effect of war time changes of income and expenditure and habits of saving and investment of a number of middle class families in Bombay and published a brochure on the effect of war-time inflation on middle class families. It was confined to persons earning between Rs. 50/- and Rs. 300/- per month. Let us note the important conclusions. While the income of the families on the aggregate increased by 45 per cent. the per capita income could at best increase by 30 per cent. This was also neutralized by the rise in

the cost of living, leading to considerable economies in the consumption of essentials of life. Protective foods registered a fall. Ghee showed a decline of 42 per cent., potatoes 37 per cent., sugar 28 per cent., and milk 20 per cent. The expenditure on vegetables doubled. The inroads of the military naturally led to a deterioration of the quality. In spite of it the expenditure on food articles doubled itself and constituted 50 per cent of the income as against 37 per cent. of the pre-war era.

While the aggregate income increased by 45 per cent. the expenditure rose by 60 per cent. The normal surpluses were also wiped off and consequently they became a deficit earning group. They could not balance their budgets and the middle class families had either to draw on past savings or incur debts. We must have ampler investigations based on a wide range of groups to find out the impact of war on different social groupings. A year back there was a press report that the Government of India appointed Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao to consider this problem but neither the projected whirlwind tour of India was undertaken nor any substantial work was done in the matter. It is high time the Government undertook this work as it will bring in bold relief the incidence of the burden of war effort and help us in the solution of problems like stabilisation of prices etc.

Even as it is, this simple survey conducted by the University School of Economics clearly shows that the purchasing power of the bulk of the people has not increased as a result of war.

For the standard of living to increase, there should be an increase of the available

supply of consumers' goods etc. decrease of population or increase of imports. Nothing of the sort has taken place with the result our situation has deteriorated. This was accentuated by our supplying even essentials of life to the allied war-effort even at the cost of the Bengal famine and untold human suffering.

After all by standard of living, we mean the aggregate of necessities, comforts and luxuries. We have, of course, to give a place of honour to necessities like food, clothing, and shelter. During war years and even now, the people have not enough to eat. There has not been and is no sufficient cloth to meet our requirements compared to the pre-war years, therefore we have less today. Even so far as housing is concerned, it is also less. We can just imagine the conditions of housing in industrial cities like Bombay. Thus the common man has had less food, clothing and shelter than before the war.

#### CONCLUSION

This brief article seeks to bring in bold relief the conclusion that the masses as a whole have suffered much and are suffering. The condition of the common man is worse off today than before the war. Let us not therefore delude ourselves into thinking that the war has helped us to have a better standard of living. Let our plans for the economic development of India be based upon the real conditions of the masses today and not imaginary prosperity which is observed in wild seclusion of secretariats. Now that a National Government is set up at the Centre, let us hope that the common man will be able to have the essentials of life at a reasonable price consistent with his income, otherwise the situation will deteriorate. It is hoped that public opinion will assert itself.

# Finances of Hindu and Muslim Majority Areas

BY MR. V. VITHAL BABU

**H.M.G.'s** statement of June 2nd, 1947, has brought to the fore a revolutionary change in the political and fiscal discussion over the transfer of power from British to Indian hands. The division of India has been envisaged on the basis of Muslim and Hindu majority districts. The curiosity of the public to arrive at a rough calculation of the revenues and expenditures of these two areas, has been roused very much recently. But since we cannot get any satisfactory estimates of revenues and expenditures on the basis of districts, at best we can only calculate roughly the revenues and expenditures on the population basis, of those districts mentioned in the appendix to the above-said statement, according to 1941 Census.

Really, there cannot exist any reasonable proportion between population and revenue on the one hand, and population and expenditure on the other. Population cannot be the guiding star in these calculations, for it would be ridiculous to argue that the revenue capacity of a nation increases with every increase in their numbers. Particularly, in a poor country like India, where the largest bulk of our people are mainly dependent upon agriculture, the population ratio would not be germane to our argument, though for the time being it would be easy for us to say that due to paucity of statistics on a district scale, we can follow the "guesstimate" arrived at on a *per capita* rather than on a *pro rata* basis.

Then arises the problem whether we should be content with our "guesstimate"

arrived at on the basis of the actuals of say 1945-46 or take an average of five years beginning with 1934-35 and ending with 1938-39. Several argue on both sides, but the most satisfactory estimate would seem to be the latter, for it would not contain even to the least, the war elements that poured in later, and to add to that an average of those five peace years would give an approximate picture.

At first we shall take the revenues and expenditures of Hindu majority areas:

	In Crores of Rupees (Accounts of 1945-46)	
	Rev.	Exp.
Madras	48.0	48.0
Bombay	35.0	34.1
U P	30.0	29.9
Bihar	15.2	12.1
C P.	10.6	10.5
Assam excluding Sylhet	4.7	4.5
Orissa	3.6	3.4
Western Bengal	23.9	21.8
Eastern Punjab	15.8	12.1
Total	186.8	175.9

Now we shall turn our attention to the revenues and expenditures of Muslim areas:

N.W.F.	3.0	2.8
Sind	8.6	8.6
Eastern Bengal including Sylhet	23.2	21.6
Western Punjab	12.2	9.2
Total	47.0	42.2

Thus we find that there is a good deal of disparity between the Hindu majority provinces, and that can be crystal clear when we sum up that the Hindu majority area accumulated in the year 1945-46 (according to the accounts) a surplus of Rs. 10.9 Crores, while the Muslim majority area could accumulate only Rs. 4.8 Crores.

Here a word of explanation may be necessary. We have taken into consideration only the majority areas without bringing the phraseology "Pakistan" and "the rest of India" for the simple reason that pending the Punjab which will have to meet individually in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Provinces to vote whether or not the provinces should be partitioned, by a simple majority of either part, and pending the decision of electors of the present Legislative Assembly of N.W.F. Province to decide whether their constitution should be framed in the existing Constituent Assembly or in a different Constituent Assembly and pending the decision of Sind and British Baluchistan, it would be necessary to avoid any guesswork in the matter of allocation of their finances.\* As such calculations on the basis of Hindu and Muslim majority areas alone will give us a rough estimate of the position. But, as it is pointed out earlier, it would be more satisfactory if we base our results on the averages of five pre-war years. The following table gives us an idea of the averages of revenues and expenditures of Hindu and Muslim Majority areas:

	(In Crores of Rupees)	
	Rmv.	Exp.
Madras	18.6	17.4
Bombay	26.0	18.7
Western Bengal	13.0	8.4
U.P.	12.5	12.8
Eastern Punjab	4.8	6.5
Bihar	5.3	5.2
C.P.	4.4	4.9
Assam including Sylhet	2.3	2.0
Orissa	1.5	1.7
Total	88.4	77.6

\* The Electors in these areas have since given their decision and the Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan have stayed in their lot with Pakistan.

N.W.F.	1.0	2.7
Sind	5.2	3.6
East Bengal including Sylhet	13.0	10.3
Western Punjab	3.6	4.9
Total	22.8	21.5

Now we find that while the total revenue of Hindu majority area in 1945-46 was Rs. 186.8 Crores, the average revenue of the five peace years taken above was earmarked at Rs. 88.4 Crores. In the same way, while the expenditure of 1945-46 was Rs. 175.9 Crores of Hindu majority area, the corresponding figure in peace years was Rs. 77.6 Crores. In the case of Muslim majority area also, while the Revenue of the year 1945-46 was put at Rs. 47.0 Crores, the average figure of the five pre-war years was Rs. 22.8 Crores, and similarly, while the expenditure of 1945-46 was as much Rs. 42.2 Crores, the average expenditure of the five pre-war years was Rs. 21.5 Crores.

Thus it would not be too much to say that the inflated figures of 1945-46 are really deceptive, in so far as they relate to the immediate post-war position of abnormal finances and truly the averages we have arrived at above afford a better basis in any analysis of the finances of Hindu and Muslim majority areas.

Apart from these, in order to know the chief resources of these two areas, we should have an idea of the principal industries. Cotton mill industry is distributed widely and the Hindu majority area has 671 factories while the Muslim Majority area has only 7. The Jute mills in the Hindu area number 106 while there is none in the Muslim area. So also, while there is no iron steel factory in the



Muslim area, there are 17 in the Hindu area. As many as 149 sugar factories abound in the Hindu area, while there are only 4 in the Muslim area.

These figures serve to illustrate the dispersion or the location of industries dotted all over the Hindu Muslim majority areas. When division takes place and they become independent of each other, it would be up to them to pursue industrial policy of a higher order. As such these figures need not be mistaken to have been given either with any vengeance or to attempt a verdict on the Muslim majority area.

But one thing seems to be very clear that the Muslim majority area has about 20,00,000 acres which are under jute, while the Hindu area's corresponding

figure is in the nearabouts of 3,00,000. In the same manner, the Muslim majority area brings under rice production nearly double the acreage in the Hindu area. Rope also provides a trite example wherein the Muslim majority area has the largest bulk of production. These examples are not meant even to show that one area will be richer than the other. It is only an attempt to point out the necessity for more and more development in both these areas, and make them self-sufficient in the matter of raw material and manufactures.

We have awaited long for political decisions to mould our economic policies, but yet it is not late for us to inaugurate better and more planned drives in industrialisation.

## WHAT PEOPLE WANT

BY MR VIJAYA SEN, M.A.

AS a result of indefatigable efforts on the part of the Indian National Congress and the people of India at large we have achieved independence. During recent months we moved with a tremendous speed. Only a few months ago our fate was still hanging in the balance, but on February 20 the British declared that they would quit India by the end of June 1948. However the events in India ran fast and the Secretary of State had to admit that they could no longer keep India in bondage. The Congress demanded immediate withdrawal. The Governor-General, man at the spot conducting affairs, flew back to the United Kingdom to hasten the British withdrawal. The

Cabinet Mission scheme had to be scrapped and the new announcement made on June 3, 1947 declared the British handing over power to Indians before August 15, 1947. The scheme is full of dangerous pitfalls yet all the major parties in India accepted it because it gave us freedom, freedom from foreign rule; even though at the huge cost of division of India into fragments and a lot of bloodshed and suffering resulting therefrom.

However, our work does not end here. A new chapter begins in the history of India. The era of plans is to end; for, we are to do constructive work to ameliorate the masses, to raise their standard and to give them security. This

is the century of the "common man" who has been abused, exploited, cheated and betrayed for centuries together by a handful of men in power. The "forgotten man" demands his rights, he is no longer in a mood to tolerate suppression and denial of justice and equal opportunity. There is a point beyond which human endurance cannot go and let us not drive these brave, generous, simple, mute and patriotic people to madness and despair. For the present the great masses in India know their government only through police men and revenue collectors. The British rule never tried seriously to penetrate into the villages where the vast majority of people live. They contributed a lot in the struggle for independence to instal their own Government at Delhi. But it would not be different from the foreign rule if it lingers on with its plans and surveys, if it remains silent while the rulers, landlords and capitalists tyrannize, suppress and exploit them. The Government of the people must work for the people. It must give them security, food, health and education, the fundamental needs of the people.

To maintain law and order is the first duty of the Government. For the last few months or so communal frenzy is playing a havoc in some parts of India and the life and property of citizens there is not at all secure. The Government must check this evil to restore law and order, peace and prosperity.

Food is another great problem. The Famine Commission, that was set up after the ghastly tragedy of Bengal famine in which thousands lost their lives as they

had nothing to eat, reported that a large proportion of the population suffers from malnutrition. Three fourths of the people do not get adequate food. Every now and then the great masses have to face famine that not only takes a heavy toll of life but also leaves people dangerously ill and weak who are prone to all sorts of diseases. While the population of India is increasing year by year the main food grain production in India had remained practically constant between 50 to 51 million tons with small variation from year to year. The Government must speed up with its Food Plan to meet the crisis. The Grow More Food Campaign inaugurated during the war should be rejuvenated and intensified. Every year we have to meet food shortage and our envoys have to beg for it in foreign countries. Why not develop our own resources?

Allied with the problem of food is the problem of health. Malnutrition and nutritional diseases are omnipotent. The resistance to disease and level of health is low. This level of health is reflected in the expectation of life in India which is only 27 years compared with 67 years of Australia. Moreover, there is only one doctor for every 9,000 persons in India against one for every 900 in Great Britain and throughout the country there are 4,500 nurses only. Then again, the rate of infant mortality is 162 per thousand compared with 58 in Great Britain and 54 in the United States. As for the villages, where 90 per cent. of the population of India live, the medical aid is next to nil; for hospitals are almost non-existent in the villages and 90 per cent.

of the doctors practise in towns. Labourers who migrate to cities to earn their livelihood are not only underfed and under-clothed but have to live in dirty slums sometimes 15 to 20 in a single room which even is not well ventilated or cleaned.

Illiteracy is another curse in India. The literacy figure according to latest census is 11.12 per cent. What purpose would the high aims of the Indian constitution serve if people cannot read and understand them? Consider for a moment that the constitution in India positively lays down that there is to be no legal barrier against 60 millions of untouchables in India, that they have equal rights and opportunity. But can these poor illiterate people take cognizance of it and thereby raise their heads like human beings? For centuries together they have been exploited, treated like slaves, and turned out of society. Poor dirty people suffering from inferiority complex cannot even understand the meaning of equal rights and opportunity. They would stare with horror and surprise if you explain or bring home to them. A country cannot march onward "half free and half slave". The real progress of India lies in their uplift and well-being. These are to be brought back to society. Their grievances are to be heard and redressed. The wrong of ages is to be undone. Education would be a great boon for them and would go in a great deal towards their material, moral and spiritual uplift.

Moreover, democracy cannot survive long in a mass of illiterate people who are sure to be led by demagogues and exploited by capitalists. Only well-fed, well-educated

and well-clothed people can stand and fight for their rights. Then again, without education can these people be world citizens of tomorrow? Can they stand by the United Nations and One World? In fact a drive to wipe out illiteracy would not only prepare better soldiers of democracy but would also prepare citizens of the world.

We have our own government in Delhi after a long, long night of slavery, anger, bitterness, frustration and despair. But usually people have a universal private hatred against governments, because they speak of aims and ideals, surveys and plans, calculations and investigations. Government for the people must work for the people. The needs of the people of India, are many; our economic development is far below our political advancement; we must initiate, on firm foundations, the techniques of increasing agriculture, and industrialize our country, raising the standard of living and the cultural, social and international level of our people. But firstly people of India ought to be assured that they would never starve again, that would never die again like cats and dogs and that they would be educated properly.

People who are sure of food, health and education are people who can live in peace and brotherhood and can fight for their honour and country on the side of justice. They can express and strengthen themselves. They are the tools of liberty, equality and progress.

The Government of India should plan and act realistically in terms of people's needs.

# A Plea for English in Indian Curricula

BY DR. M. HAFIZ SYED, M.A., Ph.D., D.L.H.

(University of Allahabad)

THE proposal for the substitution of an Indian language for English as the medium of instruction in the Indian Universities, deserves our serious consideration. It is a change of such momentous importance and far reaching results that it requires a most careful consideration at the hands of learned Professors and educationists. Educational reformers have, from time to time, advocated the use of the mother tongue in teaching the pupils in schools and colleges. But situated and fettered as we are by our surroundings and other limitations, we cannot fully carry it into execution. The use of Indian language as a medium of instruction in secondary and higher education of our country, is a problem that bristles with difficulties. These difficulties have so far acted as obstacles to the introduction of Indian languages as the medium of instruction in our colleges. Some of the chief difficulties that have prevented the adoption of Indian languages as the medium of instruction in our institutions are as follows :—

1. The lack of suitable text-books in Indian languages in all branches of knowledge, both scientific and humanistic. The drastic introduction of the Indian language as the sole medium of instruction in our universities all at once must, therefore, spell disaster.

2. The dearth of Professors thoroughly qualified to teach through the medium of Indian languages, as all of us have received our education through the medium of English, is another difficulty to be encountered.

3. The capacity of Indian languages as a vehicle of thought and expression is surely limited at the present time. It will be fairly long time before it is well developed and is made a fit instrument for the expression of advanced scientific and philosophical thoughts. We have become used to English for at least 150 years. It is rather difficult to renounce it, and become at once efficient in another language.

It is admitted on all hands that English is a very comprehensive language of worldwide utility. A knowledge of English is the masterkey to the literary and scientific treasures of the world. It is the *lingua franca* of educated India today and has as such exerted a unifying and cementing influence by bringing people of various communities and provinces of India on a common, social, political, educational and religious platform. But for it we Indians of distant and different provinces in this subcontinent would not have known and understood each other. I have travelled far and wide in different parts of India from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin and from Calcutta to Kashmir and I must confess frankly that but for the little knowledge of English I have I would not have been able to get along and get to know my own countrymen in this sacred land. Not only here but during my visit of the continent of Europe I have found English very helpful. The day is far distant yet when Indians of various provinces will agree to use a common Hindustani language as a means of communication among themselves.

It is a matter for gratification that our university senators are beginning to take a more common sense and broad view of our requirements, and that the pendulum is slowly swinging round in the direction of bringing our university education into line with modern life. The *alumni* of our universities ought to be able to look forward confidently to a suitable career at the end of their college life. It is admitted on all hands that college education needs to be brought into greater relationship with the stern realities of life. For law, commerce and international affairs we have to depend on English, without a practical knowledge of which we shall be compelled to close various avenues of livelihood open to us.

Most of our universities draw pupils from various communities speaking diverse languages. If one Indian language is adopted as a medium of instruction, how will the pupils speaking diverse languages be able to follow the lectures of their teachers? In the United Provinces we have only Urdu and Hindi and there are many things common between the two. What would be the fate of universities established in Madras and Bombay Presidencies where not less than four languages are spoken? The Anglo-Indians and Goans, for instance, speak English at home and among themselves. The Parsis and Gujaratis speak Gujarati. The Muslims Urdu, the Jews Arabic, the Madrasis Tamil and Canarese or Malayalam, the Bengalis Bengali and Oriya. The introduction of English language as a medium of instruction in these institutions has proved to be a real boon in as much as it has helped

us to tide over these insurmountable difficulties, helped us to imbibe common western culture, and has brought us together in a common fellowship of human brotherhood.

Is this an insignificant service? Will it be wise to discard English all at once and thus deprive us of a cultural heritage which has broadened our minds and enlarged our hearts?

Let us not forget that a university is or ought to be a democratic institution of no mean order and the administration of it should be based upon high idealism, practical wisdom and broad minded sympathy with less fortunate people. We should further remember that English is "the richest and most flexible organ of expression among living tongues" and is of world-wide utility.

Research work published in an Indian language will have very little circulation outside India. If English were discarded, European and American scholars would be prevented from participating in and appreciating the research work done in Indian universities. Collaboration with other Indian universities, as it is done at the present time, will be rendered extremely difficult, if not impossible by the introduction of Indian languages as the medium of instruction. It will also act as a check on the Inter-university migration of students and co-operation among the Professors, which for obvious reasons, will not make for national unity.

My object in emphasising the need and utility of English in promoting cultural and scientific development in our country is to make us feel and realise the fact that the

medium of an international language like English is to bring us in line with other civilised nations of the world and help us to carry on our international relations with them. I do not wish by any means to minimise the educational advantage of using our mother tongue as the medium of instruction. What I do say is this. We must try our utmost to develop and enrich our Indian languages for sometime yet to come before we introduce it as a medium of instruction. May I here quote the example of the little island of Ceylon, our close neighbour? "It has been proposed there by a select committee of the State Council that English shall cease to be the language of administration and Sinhalese and Tamil shall take its place from January 1, 1957. That is in ten years from now." The same may be done by our universities. Instead of introducing abrupt change we must go forward slowly and cautiously.

Those who wish to pursue higher studies carry on research work in their subjects and be in touch with the achievements of scholars of progressive countries, enter diplomatic service, occupy the highest official positions in the Central Government, travel abroad as naval, military and aviation officers—to quote only a few functions—cannot possibly do without having a good working knowledge of English or any other European language in addition to our own mother tongue which we choose as a medium of our instruction in schools and colleges.

India has to choose one common language, be it English or Hindustani which may serve as a link between the

central and the provincial governments and the outside world. As we have acquired a fair amount of familiarity with English and have become conversant with its usage, it will be unwise on our part to neglect or discard it altogether. It is said in certain quarters that English is one of the most difficult languages of the world and we Indians have failed to acquire it as well as we should. Therefore we are advised to give up English altogether and acquire a fuller command over the language and literature in which we are born. One of the chief reasons why educated Indians have not become as efficient in English as they should be in spite of the fact that they learn it for not less than 12 or 14 years, is that it is badly taught in schools and later on in some of the colleges.

It is up to the English scholars to devise ways and means of improving the method of teaching English on modern lines. In some of the language schools in Europe, such as Hugo's I have seen young men coming from foreign countries to the Continental towns and learning the language of the people in less than two years and acquire its working knowledge because they were quite serious about it and paid sufficient attention. Our boys in schools and young men in colleges and universities do not apply themselves seriously and strenuously all the year round. They work by fits and starts and learn it in a haphazard way as a virtue of necessity and not by real choice fully realising its utility and importance.

Our educational system is mainly responsible for wastage of time and life. Various examinations that are passed in &

or 10 years can be got through in much less time with better efficiency provided proper method is introduced in acquiring it. Up to what timelimit English should be retained or relegated, would be another question which we have to consider. By what stage, it should be replaced by an Indian language is the question that comes up before our mind.

With the proposed change over from English to Indian languages as media of instruction in schools and colleges what would be the future of English in our educational life? The question will naturally engage our attention. If the imposition of English as the medium of instruction in all subjects has stunted our growth in several respects and prevented the spread of knowledge from the intelligentsia to the masses, the political and national regeneration through which the country has been passing during the last half a century is largely the direct consequence of the impact of western knowledge through the medium of English on our somewhat static and petrified

civilization. But what about the future? Should English be taught in our schools and colleges as a compulsory secondary language to our boys or should it be relegated to the position of an optional language studied by those drawn to it by its cultural value or because of their aspiration to pursue higher studies in foreign countries?

In the light of these observations my submission is that while bidding farewell to English rule in India and the English people in general we should not bid farewell to English altogether. In our own self-interest we must retain the study of English in some form or other and continue drawing our cultural and scientific inspiration through this almost universal language. We must free our minds of all prejudices against any language or learning irrespective of the fact whether it is spoken by a friend or a foe. Linguistic and literary topics should be judged on their own merits in an impersonal and unimpassioned manner. This is my earnest appeal with which I close.

## Industrial Efficiency and the Environments

BY MR R. RAMA IYER

THE Australian Industrial Delegation which toured India recently, made some remarks on the low efficiency of the Indian factories. Mr. Gross, a member of the Delegation, observed that 'the Australian labour and the Indian labour are poles apart, so far as the provision for welfare facilities is concerned; he attributed the low output to the poor standard of living of the Indian worker. Mr. Maccham, the leader of the Delegation, also pointed

out that the skilled labour in India could be as efficient as in Australia and even still better, provided the leaders of industry take adequate measures to ensure best conditions inside factories. For achieving good efficiency so far as the human factor is concerned, certain fundamental factors are to be reckoned with: an adequate minimum wage level, healthy and cheerful working conditions and a proper outlook for the worker. Conditions inside Indian

factories are very often deplorable for a decent human life.

In modern factories, labour welfare work or as an important branch of the productive departments. The welfare officer devotes his full energy to the well-being of the employees both within and without for after entering factory-life one is liable to be affected by conditions and habits both inside and outside the work-place. The nature of the modern mass-production methods calls for a higher mechanical exertion tending to the creation of a monotonous feeling, and the consequent mental depression. In all industries there are two distinct types of operating machines: one in which the worker is to control the machines, and the other in which the worker has to keep pace with requirements of the machine. The former type of workmen experience a feeling of power and freedom which would be lacking in the case of the latter type. It is only then when the operative is compelled to behave as mechanically as the machine, that many workers are induced frequently to feelings of boredom, fatigue, exhaustion and strain. Work in itself is never the cause of fatigue or boredom, rather it is the mal-adjustments of the operative to the machine.

Boredom arises from long working hours, without adequate restpauses. Besides, the intensity of the work also is to be taken into consideration *i.e.*, the amount and kind of attention required by the nature of work in conjunction with the influence of the environments. A change in the nature of work or its intensity may check the onset of boredom. Most probably

the best results could be obtained when the change process involves the use of different muscle groups or different mental aptitudes. Boredom in itself is found to be one of the main causes of industrial fatigues. Fatigue is only depressed state of mind, resulting from continued unfavourable working and living conditions producing a low state of mental and physical efficiencies. It may also be caused by inadequate lighting and ventilation.

The tendency to fatigue very often leads to accidents. "A large proportion of industrial accidents caused by moving machinery can be controlled chiefly from within the factory" observed Hon. Bevin. A major cause for accidents is found in the disorderly arrangement of machines and the inadequate moving space between machinery. Anything which is found out of its customary place in a work-spot, is sufficient to beget an accident. Mr. Meecham also stressed on the point of spacing machinery. Our men are prone to think in terms of power and space only. Apart from this carelessness in dress and operation, on the part of the worker has proved its toll on the victims. Cleanliness and tidiness are signs of good workmen, and such men seldom get accidents. A training in tidiness and discipline would prove a great success towards reduction of industrial accidents. It was also found that a warm or cold shower bath after long hours of work could retard the tendency to fatigue and nervousness; and many modern factories in the west have provided their employees with shower baths, cloak-rooms and lockers.



Ventilation and proper lighting can make good, healthy and cheerful workmen. Often inadequate lighting was found to curb the physical and mental growth of the worker. A properly ventilated factory would maintain the morale of the workers. The high temperature inside a factory like a cotton mill, is detrimental to the health and the efficiency of the operative, and it is said to lead to inhibition of cultural advancement and civilisation if proper control is not provided. One authority jocosely pointed out that culture and civilisation were born at 70 temperature. Below is given an extract of an investigation on the influence of temperature carried out by a teacher, who changed the temperature in his class-room and observed the effects on his pupils.

TEMPERATURE	OBSERVATIONS
80"	Class dull, incapable of continued mental effort;
78"	class dull, and sleepy; penmanship very poor;
75"	class dull; complained of heart;
72"	class restless;
70"	Excellent work, cheerfulness in class;
68"	best work; to-day seemed their best;
66"	splendid work;
65"	class happy, full of work; some spoke of room being cold;
60"	too cold for good work; complained of cold.

But in many factories we find more attention is paid to the suitable temperatures and humidities for the maximum production, from the stand-point of the material being processed; and never so much consideration is given as to the most suitable conditions of the atmosphere that would give well-feeling to the operatives. The importance of the influence of temperature

on the productivity and the health of the worker can not be over-emphasised.

With higher and lower relative humidities of the industrial atmosphere, similar results were observed. The "American Society of Heating and Ventilation Engineers" carried out research to find out, by laboratory methods, the critical points at which the majority of workers under industrial conditions would show no deleterious effects of temperature or humidity at the end of a working week. Of all the physiological reactions observed, a rise in body temperature and increase in pulse rate were found to provide the most consistent and positive indications of exposure. Pulse rate was chosen as a practical test. They observe that "the limiting reactions beyond which harmful physiological estrangement occur are an average temperature-rise of  $0.5^{\circ}\text{F}_c$  for the average worker, qualified by physique and experience to work in hot countries; or a rise of  $1.5^{\circ}\text{F}_c$  for occasional workers; corresponding to this restriction, the maximum permissible increase of pulse-rate would range from 33 beats per minute for a short exposure of 4 hours, upto 49 beats per minute for a short exposure of an hour." Similar effects were also recorded with the metabolic rates. Also, the suitable conditions are nevertheless influencing with the nature of work and the amount of exertions required on the individual. For maintaining and developing to the maximum the personal efficiency, we must seek to the highest possible level of physical well-being and to the psychological make up of the employees.

After long research, industrial houses have recognised the necessity of utilising colour schemes to keep up the morale and efficiency of the workers. High temperature inside a factory calls for cool shades of the surrounding areas to calm the human emotions and to stabilise the mind. Large wall areas within the field of workers' vision should be complimentary in shade to those of the material and the material and the machine. All complimentary focal colours are recommended for large wall areas, ceilings, pillars, and the non-dangerous-stationary parts of machines. When the worker at a black untidy machine casts his eyes off occasionally on to a white wall or a compound-wall, or on an arid land, his eyes get strained; and this being repeated hundred times a-day, creates a sort of confusion in his brain, head-ache with some, and a definite lowering of mental and physical efforts; may perhaps lead to fatigue even. Similarly an operative handling a red material, when he casts glances on to a white wall sees a green shade apparently for a few seconds. Colour schemes will be of great advantage to get the maximum efficiency from the worker and to keep the spirit and enthusiasm of the worker.

The deafening machine-noise is another source of trouble. By instinct, man is very much sensitive to loud noises. Children are instinctively afraid of only two things. One is the fear of falling from a height, and the other is a loud noise. The effect of the machine noise on the worker is dependent on its nature and magnitude. A uniform and humming noise does not distract the attention of

manual workers so much as it affects the intellectual workers. A harsh and occasional noise definitely lowers the mental and physical efficiencies of all types of workmen. Very often we find harsh and disharmonious noise tending to a feeling of uneasiness and stooping sensation and it leaves behind no smartness. Dr. Fred W. Kranz, Director of Sonotone Research Corporation says, "we find that the senses of balance and hearing are intimately associated". There is undeniable influence of sound on the mind and the morale of the man. Realising the effect of rhythmic sound full of melody, 'music while you work' has become more popular, and many modern factories in the West have installed sound equipments. Such systems have their multi-purpose duties to perform: time-signals, fire-alarms, announcements of programmes, and instructive and propaganda talks, besides relaying of music. It is most probable that the idea of relaying music is closely related with the prospects of maintaining, if not increasing production. Out of an enquiry made in 217 firms in England who have installed sound-equipments, 33 firms had stated that they found 'music while you work' had actually increased production; and 72 firms found that the general level of output and of attention to work had improved. In 143 factories they replied that a better atmosphere had been created; and others found the broadcast had resulted in smoother working and helped to counteract the tendencies to fatigue and boredom. In one reply mention was made of an immediate decline in the number of hysteria cases in the departments.

As to the time and type of music, no scientific investigations have yet been carried out. But many say that light orchestral and dance music full of rhythms should be relayed equally and frequently. In U.K. 90 factories were reported to be playing dance music with vocal singing, 80 factories having swing music and 140 factories military and band music. Probably the type of music for relaying should be decided in consideration of the nature and organisation of the work in conjunction with the culture and tastes of the work people concerned.

Apart from that, in the modern factories abroad, seat arrangements are provided by discerning and far-sighted employers. Provision of seat arrangements with boxes

and lockers for the workmen, combined with scientific colour schemes and organisation will surely make the worker feel at home instead of feeling a depressed mentality in the work-spot. It is well-asserted that contentment among the working class should be secured for the progress of both employee and employer. Besides minimum wages there are two more conditions which go to make good industrial relations: one is that the worker should feel himself in a healthy, homely, amicable and cheerful environment; and the second is that we should infuse into the mind of worker that there is ample chance of promotion and social and cultural developments for him, by our earnest measures for education and other welfare activities.

## INDIA AND PALESTINE

By MR. G. V. SHUKLA, M.A.

WITH the recognition of India's independent status in the matter of foreign policy by most of the sovereign states and with Indian embassies now functioning in China and America together with a host of diplomatic representatives abroad, India is coming into direct contact with international problems and has to adopt a positive policy in such matters at once. Perhaps the most direct and urgent contact in this connection has occurred at the recent meetings of the U. N. O. where the question of Palestine was discussed and in which the Indian delegate, Mr. Asf Ali, intervened with admirable clarity of thought. He demanded that the people who are most directly involved must be heard before the forum of world

opinion. It is true that the various commissions appointed by the British Government from time to time as well as the Anglo-American commission of inquiry gave hearing to the people of Palestine, but their fate has ultimately been decided by such all-important factors like oil, politics, military strategy, and fear of Russian influence in the Middle East and never by considerations of justice and right. As a result the solutions suggested by such commissions have always been along the lines of partitions and mandates and not in terms of a mutual settlement between the Arabs and the Jews.

India's insistence at bringing the two parties together before the U. N. O., therefore, is a move in the right direction.

India has always been on the best of terms with her Arab neighbours and the friendship between the two peoples dates back to ancient times and has always remained sincere and unbroken. But this should not prevent an honest and close examination by India of the claims of the Jews, another ancient and great people, who, today, literally have no place in the world to lay their heads.

The crux of the Indian foreign policy must continue to be honesty and justice. No intrigue, secret pacts, power politics or vile diplomacy must enter into our dealings with other nations. I believe our attitude to the problem of Palestine will be a test case for our foreign policy and upon its delicate handling will depend our future relations with both the Arabs and the Jews. It will also determine whether we are capable of inspiring confidence in others regarding our honesty and sincerity of purpose.

The settlement of this issue is also likely to have far reaching effect on the whole problem of Asian unity and the relationship between the countries of the Middle East and those of South East Asia. Situated as we are between these two distinct blocs, our endeavour should be to act as promoters of peace and progress in these lands.

Should India, then, support the claims of the Arabs as against those of the Jews or should she advocate the creation of a Zionist state in Palestine?

During my three years stay in Palestine and other parts of the Middle East, I came into intimate contact with all sections of Jews and Arabs and discovered they were

keenly looking forward to the Independence of India in the hope that a strong and free India will bring her weight to bear on a just solution of their problem. Torn as India is with an internal conflict in her own territory, this hope may appear rather futile and paradoxical. Yet, I believe, India can be a powerful factor in a general settlement of the Middle eastern problems.

I think the first thing to do is to scrutinise the Jewish claims to Palestine. In my opinion they are just and irrefutable. The Arab claims, too, are just and irrefutable. As some one has said it is a conflict of right with right. This must be faced honestly. It was, no doubt, on the recognition of this principle that the famous Faisal-Weizmann agreement of 1919 was based, which declared that there was room in Syria (meaning Greater Syria, including Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Syria and Lebanon) for both, the Arabs and the Jews. Had this agreement been put into effect it would have solved the Jewish problem and the present vexed situation would never have arisen. But the very basis of this agreement was shattered by the vicious Anglo-French diplomacy in collaboration with Czarist Russia, which in a secret pact known as the Sykes-Picot pact agreed to divide the Arab lands under system of mandates.

Consequently Syria and Lebanon became French mandates while Palestine, including Trans-Jordan, and Iraq went to the British. I believe that a solution of the problem may yet be found along the lines of the original Faisal-Weizmann agreement. A greater Syria, comprising Trans-Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon under the titular kingship

of Trans-Jordan may be brought about within the frame work of the Arab League, while the Jews may be allowed to settle down in Palestine with a guarantee to the Palestinian Arabs of share in the country's administration. Most of them may even take on Syrian citizenship as a definitely Palestinian Arab citizenship has never existed throughout history.

This expanded Arab territory, unified in a single federation will provide a more stable economy than that of the existing broken fragments of land, struggling to maintain themselves on a rather low level of subsistence.

There are, however, serious snags in this solution. Saudi Arabia and probably Egypt will not view with favour, the creation of a Greater Syria under the crown of Trans-Jordan, because of the traditional enmity between the ruling houses of Trans-Jordan and Iraq on the one hand and Saudi Arabia on the other. A treaty of alliance has recently been announced between Iraq and Trans-Jordan which is also likely to create suspicion, for Amir Abdulla is known to be ambitious for power. Certain elements in Syria and Lebanon will oppose this scheme but with tact and ability this opposition can be overcome.

It will be possible to work out a satisfactory formula which will leave the states involved completely autonomous in internal affairs but aligned for the purposes of economic planning and defence. Jewish participation in this scheme can also be secured and will go to create a new economy in the Middle East.

I am convinced that in such economic co-operation alone, lies the solution of the Palestinian tangle.

But if this approach should prove futile, the only other possible and practical solution will be the creation of a Bi-national state in Palestine in which both the Jews and the Arabs will have an equal share in the Government. Unlimited Jewish immigration will, however, have to be conceded. The Jordan Valley Authority scheme put forward by the Jews and supported by such eminent an authority as Dr. Lowdermilk, will permit the absorption of a million Jews and even more. It will redeem barren and uncultivated wasteland and will even attract Arab immigrants from adjoining lands.

Considerable support for such a state can be found amongst the Arabs and the Jews Palestine. Extremists in both camps will naturally oppose it.

Mr. Asaf Ali's stand in the U N. O., therefore, demanding direct representation for the people of Palestine, both Arabs and Jews, is calculated to approach the problem in this straightforward, honest way.

India, while maintaining her friendship with the Arabs and the Jews must examine the situation for herself. To do so and to obtain first hand information on the subject a small delegation should be despatched to Palestine immediately to collect facts and to probe into the possibilities of a settlement along the lines suggested above. Such information will be of great help to us in determining a more positive and constructive foreign policy towards the Middle East on the whole. India can be an intimate and direct factor in this matter because a great deal of goodwill and respect exists for us among all sections of the Arabs and the Jews.

# CAN PROHIBITION SUCCEED IN INDIA?

By "FREELANCE"

**P**ROHIBITION is now in force in eight of the twenty-five districts in the Madras province. It will be extended to eight more districts from October 1947 and in another one or two years the province bids fair to become completely dry. Other provinces and States too are following the same line. Bombay, Bihar and United Provinces also have laid plans for the progressive introduction of prohibition, so also Indian States such as Cochin and Hyderabad. Judging from the present tempo it looks like that prohibition has come to stay, nevertheless the question continues to be asked by critics whether prohibition is a practical proposition. They point out that prohibition has failed where ever it has been introduced and it is not likely to succeed in India. No doubt it is a fact that prohibition has been tried in not less than half a dozen countries and unfortunately in none of these it is in force today. America is the most outstanding example of a country which tried prohibition for a reasonable period. She introduced it in 1920 and dropped it in 1933. Russia also tried prohibition. Other countries which experimented with it are Turkey, Sweden, Finland and Iceland. But in all these countries its failure or withdrawal was not due to the same cause. Different causes operated to handicap prohibition in different countries. In America, vested interests proved an insuperable obstacle, in Russia the question of revenue, while in other countries either external pressure or internal lack of public support brought about the failure. It is however wrong to conclude from these

facts that prohibition will be a failure in India also. Conditions in these countries are fundamentally different from conditions in this country, and because prohibition has failed in the former it does not necessarily follow that it should fail here also.

India, however, is better placed than many other countries from the point of view of prohibition. Here drink is not so widespread as in Western countries. Drink evil as it is visualised in the West does not exist here except in certain towns where there is heavy concentration of industrial labour. The percentage of drink addicts to the total population is negligible. Prohibition cannot therefore be so difficult as it would otherwise be if a larger percentage of people had been given to drinking. In fact the widespread nature of the drink habit has been one of the serious hurdles that the Western countries have had to face in this matter. Again, the various religions in India do not encourage drinking. Hinduism and Islam, the two major religions are against drink. There is a sort of social stigma attaching to drink in this country. The social structure of India also helps to exterminate the drink evil. While the Western tradition is individualistic the Eastern tradition emphasizes the group mentality. The individual is the lowest social unit in the West while in India it is the family. It has been said that the caste system, the village panchayat system and the joint family system constituted the tripod on which the Indian social structure rested in early times. The group mentality as evidenced from this arrangement still

persists and the tendency 'has been obvious throughout Indian history of the individual surrendering for the greater good of the groups or the community. With this tradition behind there may not be any insuperable difficulties in weaning individual addicts from the drink habit. All the time the magnitude of the task cannot be under-estimated; but if prohibition is vigorously enforced with the problems arising from it promptly tackled, there need not be any ground for excessive pessimism.

The success of prohibition does not consist merely in the enforcement of prohibition laws. The social side of prohibition is important and can never be overlooked. It has been said that in any scheme of prohibition if the social side is forgotten the result will hinder rather than help the drink addict. It is only logical that when once drink is banned the objects with which drink has been resorted to by addicts have to be served by some other means; otherwise the banning will not be a complete success. It is familiarly said that the toddy shop is the poor man's club. In his humdrum life full of cares and anxieties he seeks for some escape and this is afforded by intoxicating drinks. It has been said that the rich man drinks to fill an otherwise empty life while the poor man drinks to escape sordid realities. So if drink is abolished without any substitute recreation for the addict, or without a real improvement in his environment the result is hoped to prove a remedy more dangerous than the disease.

The Indian village is often described as a very dull spot. There are ordinarily no

recreations for the villager. Year in and year out he is engrossed in his cares and anxieties and the only relief he gets is namely through drink. This state of affairs has to be remedied if prohibition is to prove a success. The old indigenous games and entertainments have to be revived. It may be supplemented by the more modern instruments of entertainment *vis.* radio and cinema. The villager must be attracted to these and made to forget the liquor shops.

It has also been suggested that elimination of over-crowding and slum-clearance are important factors in the success of prohibition. There is a great deal of truth in it. Environments largely make a man and if environments are wholesome then they are conducive to the promotion of healthy habits.

In a position such as prohibition in which a social evil is sought to be banished by state action the co-operation of the people is very important. Without public co-operation prohibition can never be a success anywhere. In most of the countries where it failed, the failure was largely due to the lack of co-operation of the public. Normally, in the matter of the enforcement of laws co-operation of the public will be automatic because there will be an aggrieved party which will be interested in the enforcement of the law. But the case is different in regard to prohibition. Nobody is affected when prohibition law is broken; so people are tempted to connive at the offences. This sort of attitude will never help prohibition. The public must realise the immense potentialities of prohibition as a regenerating factor in human society and assist the Government in the larger interests of the community. Such an attitude postulates effective propaganda and hence it is said that propaganda should go side by side with *Prohibition*.

# THE BIRTH OF NEW INDIA

By Mr. H. H. WRIGHT

IN a recent issue of a well known Indian journal a prominent Indian leader of Lucknow advised the Indians to "greet the physical end of British Rule which comes into being on August 15th with dignity and enthusiasm." On the front page of the same journal there is a heading "Calcutta Rioting—Arms, Acids, and bombs Freely used." We find it difficult to reconcile these two observations and naturally we ask ourselves whether this is a fitting sort of prelude to the birth of New India.

If, after 250 years of Rule in India communal rioting on such a large scale is still so evident that police and military have to be called out and have to fire several times in order to restore order, what we ask will happen when the police and military are not able to control the situation from whatever reason. Certainly such incidents make one fact very evident and that is that the new government or governments will have to concentrate the major portion of their attention on the upkeep of their own borders. Possibly, because of the various communities, and the troublesome times the country is passing through New India will require much stronger forces than England ever required to keep in India, if she is to keep law and order.

At present because of the caution of the officers in charge and because of the firm hold of discipline on the armed forces the number of casualties, when the forces do resort to the use of weapons is comparatively small, whether among those killed or injured, because although the masses

have a certain degree of hate for the forces, this hate is not mixed up with religious fervour, and is controlled by respect. When, however, a certain degree of fanaticism is introduced into the onslaught we fear the loss of life and limb will be greatly multiplied.

So long as you have a number of different communities, as in India, you will continue to have communal disturbances. Human nature being what it is, no two individuals can continue to live in each other's society without occasional clashes, and when you have a country with a large variety of views and tradition, no government or governments can be blamed for "communal disturbances." What, however, we do wonder is whether such communal disturbances will be as local as they are at present and whether they will pass over as they do at the present time.

The worst type of warfare is "guerilla warfare", *i.e.*, in which the enemy attacks individually or unexpectedly, at a time when the other party is not aware of his existence. We believe that these "stray assaults" have this particular type of warfare in view, and are possibly a great deal more disastrous to the morale of the general public. Certainly, whether this is so or not we must admit that such assaults are becoming increasingly common.

Curfew is a purely British introduction and it is a measure which is destined to make the public aware in time of trouble, that the authorities have a certain measure of control over "the man in the street." It is because of this gentle reminder that the loss of life and property is to a



certain extent stayed. Would it be absurd to imagine that the Indian respects curfew because British forces have known how to impose it correctly? Can we not believe that when the power at the centre is not respected to the degree it has been for the past 250 years, curfew, if imposed at all will be openly flouted, or will only be another cause for further friction.

Why, we ask should mediaeval methods of warfare still be resorted to, often effectively, people who consider themselves sufficiently advanced to govern themselves? In pre-historic ages stones were used as a weapon of attack. Possibly in most countries they are still used, but we do not hear of such episodes as often in other countries as we do in India. One reason for this is probably that the masses are unable to procure any other weapon. Stones can have a remarkable effect at

times, but somehow when one hears of such attacks one cannot help thinking of wild men or children at play. Certainly we would hardly associate such measures with a "New India."

The pathetic part about the whole affair is that whether armed forces are called out or guerilla warfare is resorted to or stones are used, the net result is that the actual ring leaders, who are actually responsible for the trouble frequently escape unscathed while the innocent suffer. It is the pedestrian who is assaulted. The house owner or landlord who is absent, whose property is looted and burnt, the student who is misguided who goes to jail and the women at the back who are not infrequently injured by police bullets and lathi charges. Surely New India realises all this and can do something about it.



INDIAN DOCTORS AT LONDON SCHOOL

# SOURCES OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY

**P**ROF. NILAKANTA SASTRI, head of the Department of History in the University of Madras and his team of research scholars, have, of late, shed, considerable light on some dark corners of South Indian history. His well known work on the Cholas and the Pandyan Kingdom has brought to light many an obscure feature in the life and fortunes of the two ancient kingdoms of the Tamil Nad with a tradition and civilization, second to none in the annals of this ancient land.

Having done this bit of research for the Tamil Nad, the Professor and his team turned their attention to Andhra Desa, and the results of their effort are embodied in the "Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagara" published as No. 15 of the University Historical series. Further work in the same direction was continued and the three volumes\* now presented to the public contain a very considerable collection of Vijayanagar history. The source material already in vogue was definitely one-sided—being impressions derived from the chronicles of Muslim historians and foreign observers. The present collection forms an invaluable complement to and a decided advance on the old knowledge in that it is mainly from Hindu literary sources. The detailed examination of the Mackenzie Mss. undertaken by the department clearly justified the scope for a collection of this kind—throwing a flood of light on the history of an Empire, which, as Prof. Sastri aptly says "forms

the last glorious chapter of independent Hindu India in the South".

The present collection contains about 300 extracts culled from works in all languages, Sanskrit, Persian, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam. The fruit of the three volumes opens with a luminous introduction in which Dr. N. Venkataramanayya discusses the historical significance of the extracts and indicates the ways in which our knowledge of Vijayanagara history is amplified by the new material. It is a remarkable revelation that Hindu literature which is not particularly strong in historical material should still yield enough to meet the demands of modern scientific and critical investigation. Thanks to the pioneering labours of the late Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar we have now the fulfilment of what he aimed at in his monograph on "A little known chapter of Vijayanagara History." Prof. Sastri and his scholarly team have carried the torch farther into the dark recesses of Vijayanagara history and their investigations have resulted in a collection for which the general public no less than the student of history must be grateful.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

**T**HE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest, and in particular on subjects bearing on the political, commercial, industrial and economic condition of India. Short articles on topical subjects are preferred. Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for.

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 700 words.

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor, *The Indian Review*, G. T., Madras.

\* FURTHER SOURCES OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.—  
By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, University of Madras.

# THE LANGUAGE OF HINDUSTHAN

BY PANDIT RAVI SHANKER SHUKLA

WITH the division of India having become an accomplished fact, one apex of the eternal Hindu-Urdu-Hindustani triangle has disappeared, and the problem of national language has assumed an altogether new shape. In fact, it has ceased to be a problem, for whether the national language of Hindusthan should be Hindi or 'Hindustani' is no longer a debatable question. The national language of Hindusthan can be only Hindi. The bubble of 'Hindustani' has burst. The case of Hindi and Devnagri as against 'Hindustani' and 'both scripts', in Hindi provinces or in India as a whole, has always stood on unassailable grounds, but now the very bottom has been knocked out of the Hindustani cult. The very *raison d'être* of 'Hindustani' is gone, with those very areas and those very people seceding to bribe whom the Congress had adopted the Hindustani cult. It was to secure the agreement of Muslims on the matter of a common national language that the tortuous formula of the 50-50 per cent. 'Hindustani' and 'both scripts' was proposed by the Congress. Now the matter concerns only Hindu India which has always regarded Hindi and Devnagri as its Rashtrabhasha and Rashtra-lipi, being the easiest and most suitable language and script for it." The Sindh Government has also declared open war on Hindi and Devnagri, and on Hindu educational institutions generally. No educational institution—not even a private Hindu educational institution—that does not affiliate itself to the Karachi University will be allowed to exist. Can the Congress still force 'Hindustani' and 'both scripts' on Hindusthan? It takes two to unite just as it takes two to quarrel. Can it be tolerated for a moment that whilst Urdu reigns supreme in Pakistan as state language, language of administration, education and the radio, etc., Hindi should be 'fused' with Urdu to produce 'Hindustani' for use in Hindusthan, and Hindi should find place nowhere? When Urdu remains as it is,

why destroy or spoil Hindi? If the name 'Urdu' remains, why abolish the name 'Hindi'. Also, there is no longer any question of both Hindi and Urdu being the national languages of Hindusthan. Now Hindi (and Devnagri), and only Hindi (and Devnagri), should be the state language (and script) of Hindusthan, her main medium of instruction, and the main language of the Hindustan Radio, etc and a compulsory subject of study for all in Hindusthan just as English is at present. In the Hindi provinces too, Hindi alone must now be the official and court language and medium of instruction, and it should be a compulsory subject of study for all from the primary stage. Urdu can remain an optional subject of study provided that Hindi is given the same place in Pakistan. Urdu cannot be allowed to enjoy a higher status in Hindusthan than what has been given, or may be given to Hindi in Pakistan. There is no room left for the doctrine of generosity which indeed has brought Hindus to such a bad pass. Hindusthan or the Hindi provinces cannot afford the luxury of several official languages and scripts. Hindu children cannot be burdened with an alien language and an useless script. Let the Constituent Assembly of Hindusthan enthrone Hindi and Devnagri as Rashtrabhasha and Rashtra-lipi in the Constitution of Hindusthan. Some persons will probably still try to foist their 50-50 per cent. Hindustani and 'both scripts' on Hindusthan using hollow pleas like the possibility of a re-union (how will it affect problem anyway?), justice to 'minorities' (which minorities, and how?) 'the language of the masses' (what is that language?), etc, but Hindus, who have taken their seats in the Constituent Assembly by the suffrage of Hindu voters and have not ceased to regard themselves as Hindus should refuse to be fooled any further. Let the Hindusthan Constituent Assembly show to the world that the illustrious race of Bharat still inhabits its homeland and holy land Bharat and has not forgotten its dear, old Bharat.

# INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION

It is now known that most of the States, barring Hyderabad among the big ones, have joined the Indian Union, the respective Princes having signed the Instrument of accession and the stand still agreement.

## TEXT OF REVISED DRAFT

### INSTRUMENT of accession of . . . . .

Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that as from the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as India, and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall, with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor-General may by order specify be applicable to the Dominion of India;

And whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor-General provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof: now, therefore, I, Ruler of . . . . ., in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor-General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall, by virtue of this, my Instrument of Accession, but subject always to the terms thereof, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of . . . . . (hereinafter referred to as "this State") such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India on the 15th day of August, 1947 (which Act as so in force is hereinafter referred to as "the Act").

2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to the provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.

3. I accept the matters specified in the schedule hereto as the matters with

respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State.

4. I hereby, declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor-General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of his Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. The terms of this, my Instrument of Accession, shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, unless such amendment is accepted by me by an instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

6. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorising the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion, for the purposes of a Dominion law, which applies in this State, deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed, or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.

7. Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future Constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of India under any such future Constitution.

8. Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

9. I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this. . . . day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven. . . .

I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession dated this. . . . day of August nineteen hundred and forty-seven.

(Governor-General of India).

#### SCHEDULE

The schedule attached to the Instrument of Accession which prescribes matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for an acceding State are:

##### *A. Defence:*

1. The naval, military and air forces of the Dominion and any other armed force raised or maintained by the Dominion; any armed forces, including forces raised or maintained by an acceding State, which are attached to, or operating with, any of the armed forces of the Dominion.

2. Naval, military and air force works, administration of Cantonment areas.

3. Arms; firearms ammunition.

4. Explosives.

##### *B. External Affairs:*

1. External affairs; the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries; extradition, including the surrender of criminals and accused persons to parts of His Majesty's Dominions outside India.

2. Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from, India, including in relation thereto the regulation of the movements in India of persons who are not British subjects domiciled in India or subjects of any acceding State; pilgrimages to places beyond India.

3. Naturalisation.

##### *C. Communications:*

1. Posts and telegraphs, including telephones, wireless, broadcasting, and other like forms of communication.

2. Federal railways; the regulation of all railways other than minor railways in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and service terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers; the regulation of minor railways in respect of safety and the responsibility of the administrations of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.

3. Maritime shipping and navigation, including shipping and navigation on tidal waters; admiralty jurisdiction.

4. Port quarantine.

5. Major ports, that is to say, the declaration and delimitation of such ports, and the constitution and powers of port authorities therein.

6. Aircraft and air navigation; the provision of aerodromes; regulation and organisation of air traffic of aerodromes.

7. Lighthouses, including lightships, beacons and other provisions for the safety of shipping and aircraft.

8. Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air.

9. Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of the police force belonging to any unit to railway area outside that unit.

##### *D. Ancillary:*

1. Elections to the Dominion Legislature, subject to the provisions of the Act and of any order made thereunder.

2. Offences against laws with respect to any of the *aforsaid* matters.

3. Inquiries and statistics for the purposes of any of the *aforsaid* matters.

4. Jurisdiction and powers of all courts with respect to any of the *aforsaid* matters but, except with the consent of the Ruler of the acceding State, not so as to confer any jurisdiction or powers upon any courts other than courts ordinarily exercising jurisdiction in or in relation to that State.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

By Mr. B. NATHAN

## Independence and What Next

INDEPENDENCE has come to India sooner than we expected. In fact Mahatma Gandhi, the architect of our freedom as Lord Mountbatten said, warned us not long ago that *Swaraj* is hastening to us and we must take care not to run away from it! Though freedom is an end in itself and is valuable for its own sake, it is up to us to make it worth while for the common man. That independence has brought with it a hornet's nest incidental to revolutionary changes. Problems of food and clothing, of famine and civil strife are brewing in terrific proportions. These cannot be solved satisfactorily by any Government, however efficient, without active co-operation of the people. Hence the insistent appeals of top ranking leaders to every patriotic citizen to do his bit in the spirit of service to the nation.

## The Radcliffe Award

The one reason why the leaders of India agreed, even against their better judgment, to the division of the country and of the two Provinces of the Punjab and Bengal, was that at least at that heavy price we could avoid further violence and trouble. But unfortunately the tragic happenings in Lahore and Quetta tell a different tale. Looting and arson and murder have gone on on an unprecedented scale, eclipsing the horrors of Noghali. Border troubles and communal misunderstandings are still fermented and those in authority seem either incompetent to handle the situation or foolishly playing with fire. Pious declarations and assurances have not been followed by wise or firm handling.

The Boundary award has, on top of it, fanned the flame of discord and disaffection. The proper thing is for the parties to settle among themselves. But having agreed to arbitration there is no point in disputing the decision. In a case of this kind where sentiment plays so vital a part no arbitration could be safe or satisfactory.

But then it is always open to the parties themselves to reconsider the decision and come to an agreed solution. For the moment, however, neither side could afford to reject the award, having once agreed to abide by the verdict of the Board. When the members of the Board themselves could not agree what could Sir Cyril do but to make up his mind one way or another? It is always open to the respective Governments to alter the decision and accept an agreed solution.

## South Africa and U.N.O.

The correspondence between F. M. Smuts and Pandit Nehru relating to the U.N.O. resolution on the Indian question in South Africa which has had so lame a conclusion has come upon the public with something of a mild shock. That one of the architects of the United Nations should have chosen to defy its decision augurs ill for the future of world peace.

It will be remembered that in December last the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution, by a large majority, pointing out that the treatment of Indians in the South African Union should be in conformity with international obligations and the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter. The resolution called upon the two countries to resume negotiations and to report the result to the next meeting of the U.N.O.

Field Marshall Smuts now says that if the Indian demand for implementation of the resolution implies that South Africa had broken agreements, he is not prepared to make any such admission. No agreements, he claims, have been broken.

The U.N.O., more than India or South Africa, is on trial. It is for that great organisation for world peace to justify itself in the face of this open defiance by one who professes allegiance to the principles of the U.N. Charter.

### The Minorities in India

The Constituent Assembly at its meeting on August 27 took an important decision in respect of the position of the minorities in the Dominion of India. It will be recalled that the question was referred to a strong and representative committee under the chairmanship of Sardar Patel. Every minority has had its say, and the conclusions arrived at after due deliberations are embodied in the three reports presented by the Sardar.

The first report deals with what may broadly be described as political safeguards of minorities, the second report deals with the position of Anglo-Indians in certain services and the grant of special educational facilities for them and the third report is a supplementary report on fundamental rights.

The main features of the three reports are briefly these:

Abolition of separate electorates and elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures to be held on the basis of joint electorates: reservation of seats for the different recognised minorities in the various legislatures on the basis of their population initially for a period of ten years: safeguards for the Anglo-Indian community for a period of ten years and certain non-justiciable principles to be incorporated in the fundamental rights of the subjects

Credit is due to the Sardar's tactful handling of a really complicated question on which the committee has arrived at a decision satisfactory to all the parties and interests concerned.

### Separate Electorates to go

Perhaps the most outstanding decision of the Constituent Assembly and one which is bound to accelerate the process of unification in the India of the future is the abolition of separate electorates. Communal electorates have disfigured our constitution and the life of the country all

these years. It has been the bane of our political life since the time of the Lord Minto, and it is useless at this time of the day to brood over all the havoc it has wrought. Indeed it was forced on the country with a vicious purpose and ever since we have had no end of troubles. It has fully served the designs of the enemies of India and ultimately succeeded in dividing a country which from historic times has been one and indivisible. Now that it has done its worst let us be rid of it once and for ever. It is something that all parties concerned have realised the folly of appeasement, and though at a heavy cost, have now learnt to act together, with firmness and understanding. The small minority of Parsees, well advanced and patriotic, have never claimed special treatment. Christians and Anglo-Indians are now ready to throw in their lot with the rest of their compatriots. It is no small achievement that under the wise guidance of the Home Member the Advisory Committee has hammered out a scheme of joint electorates with so little bitterness or rancour. The concessions to the so-called backward classes are liberal and generous to a degree and we have no doubt that the conclusions which have been hailed as "far-sighted and statesman-like" are backed by the unanimous vote of the Assembly.

### Late Sir Bomanji J. Wadia

It is with profound regret we have to record the passing away of Bomanji J. Wadia. As a member of the Bar, as a Judge of the Bombay High Court and latterly as the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University for years he did a good deal of quiet and unostentatious work. His services to the cause of education were great. A scholar and writer, he loved to spend his time amongst his favourite authors. He was a constant and valued contributor to the *Indian Review*. His death is a personal loss to the Editor of this Review.

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

## Partition of Palestine

The partition of Palestine into three areas—two independent Jewish and Arab States and Jerusalem as a Trust territory administered by the United Nations—has been recommended by a majority of the U. N. Special Committee on Palestine in their report to the U. N. General Assembly, presented on August 31. The Committee, however, state that the Provisional Governments appointed by the Constituent Assemblies of the two States should guarantee fundamental liberties for the citizens and sign a mutual treaty for economic co-operation.

The Committee have also recommended that the administration of the country, during a transition period of two years from September 1, 1947, should be carried on by Britain under U. N. auspices and that a fixed quota of Jewish immigrants should be admitted in that period.

Three members of the U. N. Committee—India, Persia and Yugoslavia—differed from the majority, and advocated a federal structure for Palestine with Jerusalem as capital.

## Future Status of Japan

Delegates to the British Commonwealth Conference on the Japanese peace treaty at Canberra agreed that Japan should be given virtual self-government after the peace settlement. Indian and Pakistan delegates took a leading part in the discussions.

The general attitude of the Commonwealth countries represented at the Conference, was that a Control Commission should be set up to succeed the Supreme Command of the Allied forces in the Pacific. This Commission would interfere as little as possible with the Japanese Government, stepping in only when the Japanese showed an inclination to depart from the spirit or the letter of the peace settlement.

The Conference expressed the desire that all the United Nations which contributed directly towards the winning of the Pacific War including Pakistan, should be represented at the peace Conference.

The Commonwealth countries, we are told, deliberately refrained from fixing any hard and fast attitude on the Commission machinery until they had heard the views of the United States.

Suggestions included maintenance of Allied control by a military body much smaller than the present forces in Japan and the possibility of forces being stationed on islands near Japan in case Japan ignored the provisions of the settlement.

It was agreed that Japan should make reparations of all property looted by the Japanese and that any subsequently located should be restored to its rightful owners.

It was also accepted that occupation cost should be a charge on the Japanese Government.

## Independence of Burma

Lord Listowel, Secretary of State for Burma, told the Burmese people that the British Government hoped to complete, by the end of this year, the necessary Parliamentary processes for transfer of power to Burma. In a message to Burma on his arrival at Rangoon on a goodwill mission, Lord Listowel said:

"His Majesty's Government had made clear beyond question their anxiety that Burma should gain full independence at the earliest moment, that arrangements can be made for the transfer of power and their intention to do everything in their power to hasten the date of its attainment.

"They will introduce the necessary legislation at the beginning of the autumn session of Parliament in October and will do everything in their power to hasten its passage into law and complete the necessary Parliamentary processes by the end of the present year."





# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

MY SEARCH OF TRUTH. By Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. Ltd., Agra. Price 1-8

Dr. Radhakrishnan's book gives us almost in a nutshell how the true makings of a philosopher were taking roots in him even as a boy and how his growing mind sustained itself upon not only books but also the life-giving sap of experience.

Still how much of illuminating thought and language could get compressed within the narrow limits of fifty pages of print, could be evident only to those who have perused the volume under review. Autobiographical as may seem the attempt here, nevertheless the reader does not come across mere data of a great career, but living ideas and telling phrases which sum up for us what Radhakrishnan the man and philosopher is.

Having shown a strong passion for books from his youth, no wonder he developed with years a reflective attitude towards life. But the thinking mind in him never blinded his vision to the necessity of realistic action or of expansion to the fullest scope of personality in every individual, when brought among the tasks of real life. It is further clear from his own account that he sought chiefly the aid of philosophy to obtain insight into reality. And this insight into reality, according to him, cannot be achieved through analytical intellect alone but with self-integration of a high order producing peace of mind that passeth understanding.

The literary reader cannot resist in Radhakrishnan passages of outstanding tastiness of expression and depth of meaning. Indeed nowhere else can he be sure of meeting with such a sentence as the following: 'To say God created the world is an understatement; He is

creating now and for all time'. Again, how very brimful of significance is a statement like this: 'Honesty is the mother of all writing, even though that writing may relate to the history of philosophy'. Many of the modern minds which thrive on Russian literature alone need a warning as the one: 'Let us by all means establish a just economic order, but let us also note that the economic man is not the whole man'. Penetrating also is his diagnosis of our present materialistic craze, when he utters: 'Physical efficiency and intellectual alertness are dangerous if spiritual illiteracy prevails.' Last but not the least valuable of his wholesome thoughts that require reiteration is the remark of his; 'If it is true that we do not know perfectly until we love perfectly, it is also true that we do not love perfectly until we know perfectly'.

POEMS. By Swami Vivekananda. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora.

Swami Vivekananda was a saint and patriot and he expressed himself vigorously in English and Bengali. He wrote and talked gloriously—but little is known of his poetical efforts. But a saint is sometimes as much an artist, and in moments of great ecstasy he wrote verses of such power that it is difficult to say which is more prominent in them—the poetic appeal or the spiritual urge. They may not strictly follow the rules of English prosody but one cannot ignore the poetical appeal of such verses as "The Song of the Sannyasin" or the trumpet call of the lines "To the Awakened India." And then there are shorter pieces, which, though lacking the skill and technique of English versification, are full of power and beauty all their own.

**LIFE BEYOND DEATH.** By Mrinal Kanti Ghosh. Published by S. K. Ghosh, Calcutta.

This is a book of profound interest to spiritualists. The accounts of seances communicated by members of the Ghosh family had aroused considerable sensation at the time. The original Bengali book on spiritualism, *Paralokerkatha*, was intended to be a permanent record of the seances held in the family circle of the Ghoshes. But curiosity no less than a painful urge for tidings from the other world became so persistent and widespread that an English version was called for. Apart from anything, it was the author's hope that such a book might be of service in alleviating the misery and pain of bereaved parents and relatives to a certain extent. In so far as the reported records answer such needs, they are certainly of profound interest to a considerable section of the reading public.

**THE INDIAN LITERATURES OF TODAY.** A Symposium. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. The International Book House Ltd., Bombay.

This is a collection of sixteen Essays on the literatures of the leading languages of India prepared for the All India Writers' Conference held at Jaipur under the auspices of the P. E. N. India Centre. The symposium reveals India's literary activity at the present and offers a refreshing reminder to those who fancy that our literary achievements are all things of the past.

Needless to say that each literature is handled by one competent to write with some authority on the subject. Dr. Kumarappa has done well to put them together in a handy form with the appropriate introductory address by Prof. M. D. Altekar. Students of comparative literature in Modern India will find it of much interest.

**THE PATTERN OF SOVIET POWER.** By Edgar Snow. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.

Edgar Snow, the well-known writer on Russian and Chinese problems here tries to picture the actualities and aspirations of Soviet Russia's role in Europe and the world. He describes the paradox of big, unexpected and striking accomplishments of the Russians cropping up in the midst of a series of bunglings. Mr. Snow attempts an understanding of what Russia can do in a world freed of Hitlerism. Thus, in Rumania there was no loss of territory and all had religious freedom, but the new regime will have to lean heavily on Russia for support. In Poland, even in the autumn of 1944, the prospects of the pro-Soviet regime had become stable.

The pattern that spread wherever the Red Army conquered, would involve first, a reorientation of foreign policy, the first element of which would be the dominance of the Red fleet in the Baltic and Black Seas and the achievement of nothing less than equality for it in the Mediterranean.

In Germany the defeat of reaction and of the specific Prussian junkerism and imperialism had been made manifest. But with reference to Japan, even in the years prior to 1944, the Russians fully understood Japan's hostile plans and diplomatically Russo-Japanese relations remained cold, and Soviet help to China, gradually expanding, was Russia's role in the overthrow of Japanese fascism. In general Soviet attitude had shifted from one of formal neutrality in the internal quarrel between the *Kungchintang* or communist Party and the *Kuomintang* or Nationalist Party. And the political needs of Russia and China seem to coincide at present and both aim at a united and centralised China.

Mr. Snow also discusses the personality of Stalin and explains how the Russian Communists identify themselves with the full flowering of all that was best in Great Russian Nationalism.

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Aug. 1. Twenty-two States express readiness to join the Union.  
—Gandhiji in Srinagar, Kashmir.
- Aug. 2. Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon appointed High Commissioner for India in U. K.
- Aug. 3. Appointment of New Governors announced.  
—Mrs. Pandit leaves for Moscow.
- Aug. 4. Fighting ceases in Indonesia.  
—Mr. Churchill attacks Labour Government's policy at home and abroad.
- Aug. 5. Rampur ruler appeals to Sardar Patel for aid in quelling disturbances.  
—Mr. Shree Prakasa is appointed High Commissioner for Pakistan.
- Aug. 6. Mr. Attlee outlines proposals to meet the economic crisis.  
—Gen. Cariappa's farewell message to Pakistan forces.
- Aug. 7. Indonesia accepts U. S. offer of mediation.  
—Russia welcomes India's Ambassador.
- Aug. 8. Mr. Jinnah bids farewell to Delhi and Hindustan  
—Parliament pays tribute to crown services in India
- Aug. 9. Government decide commutation of death sentences in view of Independence day.
- Aug. 10. Mysore accedes to Indian Union.  
—Pakistan Constituent Assembly meets.
- Aug. 11. Mr. Jinnah, President of Pakistan Constituent Assembly, gives assurance to minorities.  
—Sardar Patel explains Congress acceptance of decision.
- Aug. 12. Sir Harilal Jekisondav Kania is appointed Chief Justice of India.  
—President Truman sends his greetings to the Governors-General of India and Pakistan on the eve of the two Dominions coming into being.
- Aug. 13. Nearly 700 prisoners are released by Madras Government before the expiry of their terms of imprisonment.
- Aug. 14. Lord Louis Mountbatten assumes charge as Governor-General of the Dominion of India and Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah as Governor-General of Pakistan at midnight.
- Aug. 15. Independence Day celebrations throughout India.
- Aug. 16. The Khan of Kalat declares himself independent.
- Aug. 17. The Security Council of U. N. recommends admission of Pakistan.
- Aug. 18. Premiers of Pakistan and India issue a joint appeal for peace.
- Aug. 19. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar resigns Dewanship of Travancore.
- Aug. 20. Indonesia rejects new Dutch terms for peace.
- Aug. 21. Orders issued for reduction of Governors' salaries.
- Aug. 22. Congress Ministry in Frontier dismissed.
- Aug. 23. Nizam's Government refute press reports on Ministers' attitude to independence question.  
—New Frontier Ministry sworn in.
- Aug. 24. Rioting in Quetta: Violent disorders in the Punjab.
- Aug. 25. France vetoes Soviet proposal for Jana
- Aug. 26. Commonwealth talks on Japanese Peace treaty opens at Canberra.
- Aug. 27. Bhopal joins the Union.
- Aug. 28. Consambyly decides to abolish separate electorates.
- Aug. 29. Madras Government take over M.E.S.C.
- Aug. 30. Baldev Singh and Nishtar visit riot areas in West Punjab: harrowing scenes witnessed.  
—Mysore Dewan's assurances to State people.
- Aug. 31. Nehru, Liaquat and Patel in riot affected areas in the Punjab.  
—Administrative collapse in West Punjab.

# TOPICS From PERIODICALS

## INDIA GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

In a cabled article to the American Liberal magazine, the *New Republic*, Pandit Nehru says: "We have been greatly disturbed by the recent happenings in Indonesia. Military aggressive action on a big scale, involving organised destruction by the bombing of nerve centres of the country, is a negation of the U. N. Charter. If there is any dispute between nations, it must be referred to arbitration or to the U. N. For any Powers to refuse arbitration and to take unilateral action is to strike a grievous blow at the United Nations."

"This is a matter which affects Asia intimately, but it affects the whole world, for in it lies the seeds of war and the destruction of world co-operation for the maintenance of peace."

On the question of India's freedom, Pandit Nehru writes: "To-day, on the eve of independence, India's mood is strange and perplexed. There is a feeling of quiet confidence and triumph at her achievement and, at the same time, deep sorrow for all that has happened during the past year and the secession of part of the country. We realise fully we have to face a multitude of very difficult problems, both nationally and internationally. This is sobering thought and yet the ultimate feeling is one of confidence in ourselves and in our future."

Pandit Nehru emphasises that the food situation in India is very serious. This has been worsened by Dutch actions in Indonesia in seizing rice stocks meant for India. We have to take urgent steps to obtain foodstuffs from abroad and to add to our domestic production.

"Foreign capital will be welcome in India for our schemes of development on profitable terms, but control of Indian industry must remain in Indian hands."

## HARIJANS IN PAKISTAN

Religion, (binding faith) is a deep personal matter, more personal than honour. To be true it must be able to defy coercion of the extremest type, writes Mahatma Gandhi in *Harijan* under the caption "Scheduled Castes."

It appears that a correspondent wrote to Gandhiji that if the Scheduled Castes of K area are included in Pakistan, they would probably have no alternative other than embracing Islam. The question immediately arises as to what will happen to the Scheduled Caste members in the Pakistan area where they are not living in contiguous areas. Will they all have to embrace Islam? Gandhiji Says: "I can only say that their religion must be very poor stuff if it admits of change like one's clothes. Religion (binding faith) is made of sterner stuff: It is a deep personal matter, more personal than honour. To be true it must be able to defy coercion of the extremest type."

So much for those who are in fear of compulsory conversion. But what about those who inspire men and women with such fear?

"I have heard it seriously argued that people have often mistaken voluntary for compulsory conversion. I think the argument does not carry any conviction. People have been known in all ages to resort to conversion when they have known their friends, relations or neighbours to progress conversion under duress. When, therefore, there is suspicion all round conversion should be stopped altogether."

Gandhiji adds that there are other ways of compulsion which are equally repugnant:

Frequently this compulsion assumes forms, say for instance, free grants of land or offer of service even beyond merit."

## THE PRINCES AND PARAMOUNTCY

British Paramountcy in India in the past has been responsible, for an 'artificial' preservation of the Princes and the reintegration of British and Princely India is bound to be a task of great difficulty, writes the independent British weekly *The Economic*.

"Under British Paramountcy, the Princes have been artificially preserved and the 'natural' process of amalgamation and unification have been suspended", the article declares.

"India has been divided into two parts", the journal declares, "in one of which has functioned a uniform central administration of unprecedented strength, while in the other the fragmentation produced by a period of utter collapse has been permanently fixed and over-accentuated."

Formerly the Princes had no unity or cohesion among themselves and it was indeed the policy of the Paramount Power to prevent any combination among them, unions such as the old Maratha Confederacy having been forcibly dissolved.

"The reintegration of British and Princely India is bound to be a task of great difficulty. It might have been effected by revolutionary violence—and there still may be violent passages in the relations between sporadic monarchies and the Indian of Nehru and Jinnah. But an attempt is being made for amalgamation by peaceful constitutional process, and there is a hope that it may be successful. There is plenty of administrative talent in the States—where ambitious Indians have often found opportunities not open to them until very recently in British India—and some of the States have preserved traditions of an older India, by which even a progressive democracy can be enriched.

"So much that seemed impossible only a year ago is now in the process of being realised by peaceful means in India, that it would be wrong to be pessimistic about the outcome of this particular problem. Everything depends on moderation on both sides."

## NATIONALISATION OF TEMPLES

*The Indian Messenger* suggests that the important shrines, and such temples as that of Jagannath at Puri, Viswanath at Benares, of Kali at Kalighat in Calcutta, Tarakeswar Temple, Tirupati temple in the province of Madras and others should be nationalised by the Government of India and made national institutions, though they are now owned by certain private individuals, who claim them as their ancestral properties. They waste the income they get for indulging in luxuries and vices just as zamindars waste their incomes. If it is advisable to nationalise the estates of zamindars, it is equally advisable to nationalise such big temples and utilise the income for spreading education. There is a *Darga* of a Mahomedan saint in the province of Ajmir, which has an income of about five crores a year. It may go a great way for educating Mahomedan children. The temple on the Zion Hill was the national temple of the Jews; St. Paul's Cathedral is the national church of the English people; Notre Dame de Paris is the national church of the French. It is very desirable that the Hindus also should have certain shrines that may be considered national institutions. Indian temples are private properties. Therefore a law should be passed and the temples made public properties, the Sevais being given some compensation. These holy places have an unifying effect on the national mind. Has not Kaba been a centre of unity for the Islamic worshippers throughout the world?

## SUNDAY TIMES

The Independence Supplement of the *Sunday Times*, Madras is a sumptuous number crammed with pictures and notes of topical interest. Significantly enough the Independence Day, synchronising with Sri Aurobindo's birthday, the Editor has gathered together a lot of literature on Sri Aurobindo and his Ashram at Pondicherry. The Aurobindo articles are fully illustrated,

## THE THERAPEUTIC QUALITIES OF MUSIC

The belief in the therapeutic qualities of music is by no means confined to the people of this country. Legends have grown up around musical notes and melodies in all countries and miraculous cures have also been reported. Rao Bahadur N. M. Adyantayya, member of the Experts Committee of the Madras Musical Academy, writing in the *Journal* of the Academy pleads for a scientific investigation of the subject and urges the University to award scholarships for research on the therapeutic value and qualities of Ragas and melodies.

Of the healing powers of music we have abundant evidence in the records of Arabia, Egypt, Greece, Persia, Rome and other countries.

For example, says the writer, the Egyptian medical record of 2600 B.C. mentioned the great influence of music on the human body. Later, Homer wrote that music stopped haemorrhage in Ulysses. Maritimus tells us that music stops fevers. Thetees of Crete removed pestilence by playing on the lyre. Disorders on the ear were cured by a Greek named Aesculapius. It is also recorded that Xenocratis cured lymphatics while Auralianus cured sciatica. In Babylon, David played divinely on the harp and his performance petrified the animal kingdom. Bu Ali Sena of Arabia who was a Hakeem, has expounded music as a healer of incurable diseases in his book called "Shafa". Pythagorus preached that music cured ailments and inspired the mind for intellectual pursuits.

In India we have records of the great powers possessed by the chantings of the Sama Veda set into appropriate music. We are told that Gautama expounded his teachings through the medium of the Veena. Coming to more historical times, Tan Sen and Beju Bawra, during the time of Akbar, are reported to have excited fire and melted stones by their music.

Napoleon attributed his defeat in Russia to the orchestral music of the Russians which so inspired their men that the best French Regiment could not cope with their onslaught. Emperor Jehangir who suffered from insomnia could never sleep without the sound of four Tamburas resounding in the four corners of his bed room.

Writers on Music have said that Tan Sen classified from out of 30,000 melodies then existing, about 200 ragas as having

distinct and special characteristics. Various commentators have attributed peculiar emotional effects to different ragas. In Arabia we are told, it was usual in ancient days for priests to be taught music and medicine together so that the former may aid the latter. It is a common-place to say that music touches the deepest chords of the human soul and transports one to a higher and nobler plane.

It has been said by Atia Begum in her book "Sangit of India" that Ragas have been known to possess the capacity of curing ailments, of subjugating wild animals, controlling the elements and exciting many feelings. Various Ragas do possess certain characteristics but these have not yet been analyzed or isolated on a scientific basis. For example, it is said that Sohini excites tears, Behag creates a sense of joy, Jayajayanti cures paralysis, Nut excites valour, Deepak ignites fire. Megh brings on rain. It has been recorded that Tan Sen sang Megh Rag and brought on rain, that Biju Bawra sang Deepak and lamps lit up shining, that Samos Khan sang Shri Rag and stones melted, that Surej Khan sang Jayajayanti and cured paralysis, that Haridas sang Asavari and venomous snakes were subdued.

Hosts of other stories and anecdotes are associated with great musicians of the past.

## FREE INDIA

What is appropriately styled the "Swaraj Number" of *Free India* is one worthy of the great occasion which inspired it. Portraits of leaders, maps and other illustrations add charm and interest to a number teeming with articles of striking interest on different aspects of the nation's struggle for independence. A brief history of the Freedom struggle in India is followed by sketches of the Pioneer Fighters. There are interesting articles by writers like K. Rama Rao, Dr. Hafiz Syed and Pothan Joseph. Mr. A. G. Venkatchari urges the need for a Front Populaire. The Story of the British in India from Lord Clive to Lord Mountbatten is a historical account in cameo. "Behind Prison Bars" by the Asst. Editor is a moving story of jail experiences which will repay perusal. Altogether this hundred page number in a jacket of gold and green has many attractive features.

### ANDHRA EDITORS

"From Chintamani to Chalapathi Rau"—that is the title given to a series of thumb nail sketches of Andhra Editors that has appeared in a recent issue of *Swatantra* which is itself edited by an Andhra journalist of brilliant parts. The writer of these sketches—I.D. of *The XX Century* is himself an Andhra craftsman of no mean distinction and he writes with just appreciation of his compatriots in the press Andhra Editorship, he writes, is no apologetic affair

"It has illumined the journalistic landscape far beyond its (undefined) borders. It has claims to recognition, even to eminence. Here is my gallery of Andhra editors, from Chintamani to Chalapathi Rau—from one who was my Chief to one whose Chief I was; or, to put it differently, from the most famous to the most brilliant of Andhra journalists. In between Chintamani and Chalapathi Rau, we have Mr. Prakasam who strayed into journalism and remained defiant till he was stampeded into a crash; Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who surrendered the gifts of a vivid journalist to the preoccupations of an active politician; the distinguished Kotamraju brothers—Mr. Punniah whose hold on Sind is next only to Chintamani's in UP, and Mr. Rama Rao, who 'subbed' his way all over India, blazed in Lucknow and returned with laurels to the home-province; Sri K. Ramakotiswara Rao who brought to periodical journalism the pure breath of art and culture; Mr. C. V. H. Rao, most academic of journalists and least pugilistic of controversialists; and that indomitable pair discovered and fostered by Mr. Prakasam, Mr. G. V. Krupanidhi and Mr. Khasa Sabba Rau, who jointly waved the banner of *Swarajya* and are now respectively starring in the North and stirring the South. These constitute no dim constellation."

### SIGNIFICANCE OF CASTE

The caste system in India has come in for a good deal of criticism. In its old, rigid form it is fast disappearing, but there is something to be said for its historical and cultural significance; and Prof. D. P. Mukerji, after discussing theories of the origin of the four castes, in the columns of *The Social Welfare*, sums up his conclusion as follows:

"The merits of the caste-system are solid. They flow from its having been able to resolve the tension between order and change that tends to split every social order. The resolution was effected by the control of fission and fusion as between different bio-types and functional units. In so far as values are hierarchical and the caste-system's four-fold division is universal, the Indian social order has always been informed by a sense of values. Therefore, the caste-system should be considered as a cultural institution. Its evils are well-known and better advertised, and no sane person can deny them, defend them or stop for a moment from deploring them. At the same time, its historical and cultural significance should not be missed. No Hindu genius need be posited for such recognition. The large fertile spaces within difficult natural barriers, the continuance of a single mode of production over long stretches of time, a monarchical system that left the rural panchayat and the urban guild practically untouched, all combined to produce an attitude of credal toleration and acceptance of hierarchy. In short, the caste-system is the natural order of a more or less closed society. Probably, Indian culture has taken more than it has given."

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED MR. A  
Symposium. Rs. 1-6.

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# INDIAN STATES

10.

## Hyderabad

### HYDERABAD AND THE UNION

Addressing India's Parliament on August 15 Lord Mountbatten the Governor-General referred to the negotiations with Indian States and said that practically all states have signed the Instrument of Accession and the stand still agreement.

"The only State of the first importance that has not yet acceded is the premier State, Hyderabad. Hyderabad occupies a unique position in view of its size, population and resources, and it has its special problems. The Nizam, while he does not propose to accede to the Dominion of Pakistan, has not upto the present felt able to accede to the Dominion of India. His Exalted Highness has, however, assured me of his wish to co-operate in the three essential subjects of External Affairs, Defence and Communications with that Dominion whose territories surround his State. With the assent of the Government negotiations will be continued with the Nizam and I am hopeful of reaching a solution satisfactory to all."

### "STATUS QUO" IN BERAR

The Nizam of Hyderabad, on August 15 issued a "firman" continuing the *status quo* regarding the administration of Berar "until more permanent arrangements have been made for its future."

### NAWAB OF CHHATARI

The Nawab of Chhatari, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, and Sir Walter Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to the Nizam, have tendered resignations of their respective posts.

### NAWAB ALI YAVAR JUNG

Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur, Minister for Constitutional Affairs, submitted resignation of his office on August 21, to the Nizam.

## Baroda

### BARODA DEWAN ON UNION POWERS

Sir B. L. Mitter, Dewan of Baroda, speaking in the Constituent Assembly on the report of the Union Committee on the distribution of powers refuted the criticism that the report was drafted without proper consideration and that the distribution of powers was made arbitrarily. As a member of the Committee he would say that the Committee was entirely guided by the principle that matters of national concern should be vested in the Centre and matters of provincial concern should vest in the Provinces. Answering the question why the States were differently dealt with from that of the Provinces, Sir B. L. Mitter said that nearly half of India as constituted today formed the Indian States. We wanted the States to join the Indian Union and they agreed to come in on the basis of the May 16 declaration. The Committee was anxious that the States should join the Union and thus form a consolidated and strong India. He had no doubt that once the State joined the Union, gradually the States and Provinces would approximate with each other. Assuming that the States were backward then it was necessary that some indulgence must be shown to them. They must first associate themselves with the administration which would lead to the consolidation and strengthening of India.

## Patiala

### NEW PRIME MINISTER OF PATIALA

The Maharaja of Patiala has appointed Sardar Bahadur Lt.-General Guda Singh Harika, General Officer Commanding of Patiala States Forces as his Prime Minister in place of Sardar H. S. Malik, who has been appointed as High Commissioner for India in Canada.

It is after a period of 48 years that a Patiala State subject has been appointed to the Premiership.



## Mysore

### MYSORE'S DECISION

Mysore has acceded to the Indian Dominion and His Highness the Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession on August 9. This was announced by the Mysore Government in a Press Communique issued on August 10. The Press communique says:

"His highness the Maharaja of Mysore, in the exercise of his sovereignty in and over the State of Mysore has been pleased to execute the Instrument of Accession on August 9, 1947.

"Whereby His Highness has acceded to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Dominion may exercise in relation to the State of Mysore such functions for the purpose of the Dominion as may be vested in them but limited to the extent detailed in the Instrument of Accession executed by His Highness."

### RETROCESSION OF BANGALORE

The Government of Mysore have promulgated three enactments in regard to application of laws to the retroceded area to Mysore Durbar and other incidental matters. These enactments are: The Retrocession Application of Laws Act which provides for the continuance of all the laws which were in force in the Civil and Military Station before the retrocession; the Retrocession Transitional Provisions Act which provides for pending suits, criminal proceedings, appeals and other matters relating to Law Courts and to ensure the continuance of all such proceedings in Mysore Courts; and the Retrocession Miscellaneous Provisions Act recognising existing titles to the immovable properties and providing for the Government to take over all the rights and the liabilities relating to the immovable properties, and the contracts entered into by the Crown in respect of the retroceded area.

## Travancore

### SIR C. P. S. RETIREMENT

The Government of Travancore have issued the following *Gazette Extraordinary* in connection with the retirement of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer from the Dewanship of the State:

His Highness the Maharaja has been graciously pleased to accept the resignation tendered by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer of the office of Dewan of Travancore and to permit him to relinquish charge with effect from August, 19. In doing so His Highness desires to give expression to the estimation in which His Highness holds Sir Ramaswami Iyer's services to himself and to the State. Sixteen years ago Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer took formal office as Legal and Constitutional Adviser to His Highness and rendered valuable help and advice and brought to his task the benefit of his great eminence at the Bar and his varied political and official experience.

In October 1930 he accepted His Highness's offer of the Dewanship of Travancore. From that time onwards, except for 18 days when, at the pressing invitation of Lord Linlithgow, His Highness agreed to spare his service to take up the membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer has, for nearly eleven years, held the Dewanship and laboured with a singleness of aim, courage, enthusiasm and success. Today Travancore has achieved an international reputation as a result of his unremitting and devoted labours. His contribution towards the promulgation of the Temple Entry Proclamation, abolition of capital punishment, establishment of the Travancore University with a special bias towards scientific investigation and research, and a comprehensive husbanding of the State's natural resources are among the more distinguishing features of his administration. His financial measures augmented the State's revenues four-fold without resort to additional taxation.

Since December last, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer has expressed a strong desire to lay down the Dewanship and devote himself to congenial literary pursuits but the course of events deferred the step so long. With a full appreciation of his unique services, whose value time will show, and with sincere regret, His Highness has given his consent to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer's retirement. His Highness's best wishes and warmest regards follow him in his well-earned rest for health, happiness and long life.

### THE NEW DEWAN

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has been pleased to appoint Rajyasevapravina P. G. Narayanan Unnithan, to officiate as Dewan temporarily.

Mr. Narayanan Unnithan assumed charge of his new office on August 20, 1947.

**Gwalior****RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT**

Responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja was the goal of his constitutional policy in Gwalior, said Mr. M. A. Srinivasan, Vice-President of the Gwalior State Executive Council in an interview.

A Constitutional Reforms Committee is likely to be appointed to make recommendations to implement this policy.

The existing Council of Ministers, Mr. Srinivasan added, will be reconstituted so as to include substantial non-official elements including representatives of the State Congress, Harijans and other interests.

**Junagadh****JUNAGADH STATE JOINS PAKISTAN**

Junagadh State has decided to join the Pakistan Dominion.

Mr. Ismail Abramani, Secretary for Constitutional Affairs to Junagadh State, who went to Karachi on August 12, met Mr. Jinnah and communicated to him the decision of his State.

**Cochin****MAHARAJA'S ANNOUNCEMENT**

The Maharaja of Cochin in a message to the Legislative Council, read by the President Mr. L. M. Pylee at a special sitting on August 14 announced his decision to transfer all Departments, except Palace, Devaswoms, Police, Jail and State Forces to Ministers under the Government of Cochin Act.

**Bahawalpur****IRRIGATION IN BAHAWALPUR**

A new canal extension project which will link the tail of old Abbasia canal with the tail of Minchin Branch has been taken in hand. The Project, when completed, is expected to irrigate 40,000 acres of waste land at the first stage of the scheme.

**Dewas****REGENT FOR DEWAS STATE**

Her Highness Prāmila Rājā Chhatrapati, Maharani Saheba of Kolhapur has been appointed as the Regent of the Dewas State (Senior) during the minority of His Highness Maharaja Krishnaji Rao Puar, the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior).

Her Highness is the mother of the minor Ruler of Dewas (Senior) and she has had considerable experience of the work entrusted to her as she has already acted as the Regent of the State during the war years 1941-43 when the then Maharaja who is now the Maharaja of Kolhapur had to leave the State on active military service in India and overseas. Her Highness assumed charge of her office on August 7.

**Jodhpur****"BELL OF JUSTICE"**

According to a bulletin said to have been issued by the Rajaguru—the religious adviser to the Ruler of Jodhpur—a Bell of Justice, similar to the famous bell of Atri and Shah Jehan, will be installed in Jodhpur by the new Ruler.

The Bell will provide an easy means of obtaining an audience with His Highness by persons who feel they are being oppressed and have legitimate grievances. Such persons will only have to ring the bell to receive attention.

**Kolhapur****REVISION OF SALARIES**

Kolhapur Durbar has decided to appoint a Pay Commission to examine the scales of pay and allowances and the conditions of service of all classes of employees. A non-official expert will be the President of the Commission and two members of the Commission will be nominated by the Praja Parishad. The terms of the reference of the Pay Commission include an examination of the report of the Retrenchment Committee.

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

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## South Africa

### SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN QUESTION

General Smuts, South African Union Premier, has written to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru refusing to repeal the Pegging Act and other anti-Indian measures. This decision, it is believed, follows an earlier exchange of letters on the subject between Pandit Nehru and General Smuts, in which the latter declined to take cognizance of the U.N.O. resolution on the subject.

Since no compromise has been found possible, the dispute will now come before the United Nations General Assembly.

The South African-Indian issue—item 20 on the Assembly agenda—is likely to be raised sometime in October. Meanwhile, the Government of India are preparing a report for submission to the General Assembly in accordance with the United Nations resolution.

The correspondence between Field-Marshal Smuts and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru relating to the U. N. resolution on the Indian question in South Africa was officially released in New Delhi on August 19.

Concluding his last letter to Field Marshal Smuts (dated August 7), Pandit Nehru says: "I have tried my best to end the deadlock between our two Governments, but must observe, with regret that, through no fault of ours, no common basis for negotiations between us has been found."

## Canada

### RIGHTS OF INDIANS IN CANADA

"Indians are entitled to the same rights in Canada as other nationals", said Mr. H. S. Malik, India's High Commissioner-designate for Canada speaking at a reception at Simla on recently.

Mr. Malik visualised the day when he hoped to see Indians in Canada no longer leading an existence of ordinary labourers with a very low standard of living.

## Australia

### INDO-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS

Mr. R. R. Saksena, Government of India Trade Commissioner in Australia, has returned to India from Sydney on transfer to New Delhi, where he has taken up the appointment of Joint Secretary to the Department of External Affairs.

Mr. Saksena told the Associated Press of India that during the six and half years he spent in Australia he had experienced nothing but kindness and hospitality from the Australian people.

"We are coming very close due to growing trade relations and other common interests like security, both India and Australia being in the same hemisphere", he added. Asked what help India might expect from Australia in the matter of food, Mr. Saksena said that the wheat crop in Australia this year was expected to be very good and that India would get a fair share of the surplus.

## Burma

### INDIANS IN BURMA

"We believe we will always have very close and friendly relations with India and it is our hope and expectation that political changes which are about to take place in both the countries will enable even closer and more cordial relations to exist between the two free and independent countries," said U Tin Tut, leader of the Burmese Goodwill Mission in London.

Commenting on the status of Indians in Burma, most of whom, he said, were now Burmese nationals, U Tin Tut said the Burmese Constituent Assembly would constitutionally define who was a Burmese national and that this definition would cover the majority of Indians in Burma. "They will," he said, "have exactly the same rights as the Burmese."

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS † DEPARTMENTAL † NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### BOUNDARY COMMISSION AWARD

The award of the Punjab and Bengal Boundary Commissions, presided over by Sir Cyril Radcliffe, was announced on August 17.

Sir Cyril Radcliffe says in his reports to the Governor-General that in the course of the Commissioners' discussions "the divergence of opinion between my colleagues was so wide that an agreed solution of the boundary problem was not to be obtained." In those circumstances, he says, his colleagues, at the close of their discussions, assented to the conclusion that he must proceed to give his own decision.

As a result of the award of the Punjab Boundary Commission, the Province of the West Punjab will include the whole of the Multan and Rawalpindi Divisions, and the districts of Gujranwala, Sheikhupura and Sialkot of Lahore division. The Province of the East Punjab will include the whole of the Jullundur and Ambala Divisions, and the Amritsar District of Lahore Division have been divided between the two new Provinces. In the case of Gurdaspur District, the Shakar-garh Tahsil, which lies west of the Ravi River becomes part of the West Punjab, while Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Batala Tahsils, which lie east of the Ravi, become part of the East Punjab.

The award of the Bengal Boundary Commission has assigned to East Bengal the whole of the Chittagong and Dacca divisions, and to West Bengal the whole of the Burdwan Division. The Rangpur, Bogra, Rajshahi, and Pabna districts of the Rajshahi Division and the Khulna District of the Presidency Division, have been included in East Bengal, and the districts

of Calcutta, the 24 Parganas, and Murshidabad of the Presidency Division, and the Darjeeling District of the Rajshahi Division, have been included in West Bengal. The five districts of Nadia, Jessore, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, and Malda have been divided between the two new provinces.

The award of the Bengal Boundary Commission regarding Sylhet has resulted in the whole of that district being transferred from the province of Assam to the new province of East Bengal, except for the thanas of Patharkandi, Ratabari.

### RECRUITMENT TO THE SERVICES

The Government of India have reviewed their policy relating to recruitment to central services in respect of domicile qualifications and communal reservations, says a press communique.

The policy of the Government is that save in exceptional circumstances appointments under Government should be confined to Indians only. They do not, however, propose to declare all residents of adjoining territories as ineligible for appointments under the Indian Dominion. They have, therefore, come to the decision that in future, a candidate for appointment to the central services under the Indian Dominion should be either

(1) a national of the Indian Dominion by birth or by domicile, or

(2) a person of Indian descent, or a ruler or a citizen of an Indian state, or a citizen of Pakistan or other territory adjacent to India in whose favour a declaration of eligibility has been issued by the Central Government.

In regard to communal representation, the Government of India have decided that it is no longer necessary to retain the system of reservation in respect of vacancies filled by competition except for scheduled castes who need this protection in view of their backwardness.

# Utterances of the Day

## MAJ. GEN. CARIAPPA'S CALL TO THE ARMY

At a party given by the Indian members of the G. H. Q. to the departing members of the Pakistan section, on August 6 at Delhi, Major-General Cariappa said:

"We shall continue to work together for the defence of the two Dominions against external aggression." He added: "Comrades-in-arms, during all our life in the various services we have lived together, worked together, played together and fought together in the various battle-fields on which our magnificent armed forces have fought with the highest degree of fellowship and comradeship. May that spirit continue even after we are separated. We now serve in two different armed forces, but we fervently hope that nothing anyone says or does will in any way mar the continuation of our present spirit of friendship and comradeship."

"We earnestly hope," Major-General Cariappa said "that we will be united against any outside aggressor whoever or wherever he might be. If this is clearly understood by us all, it should enable our leaders to concentrate undisturbed in their work to make our respective Dominions great and powerful as they should be and can be."

### BRIG RAZA'S REPLY

Brigadier Raza, replying on behalf of Pakistan, gave an assurance that the armed forces of Pakistan would always uphold their traditions under which they served shoulder to shoulder with the Indian armed forces and would continue to do so whenever required.

"Bearing in view our cultural background, pristine chivalry and recently achieved liberty," Brigadier Raza said, "I sincerely appeal to the armed forces and all the people of both Pakistan and the Union of India to maintain their traditional spirit of fraternity and fellowship and rekindle their old torch of guidance for establishing universal peace, prosperity and security."

## MR. KHER'S APPEAL TO PARSIS

"The age of narrow communalism and of exploitation of one race or community by another is going, and we should see that it does not appear again. The catholic spirit which you have always shown in the past, inspired the hope that in this urgent task of welding the different elements in our society into a united nation, your active support will be forthcoming."

In these words Mr. B. G. Kher, the Premier of Bombay, inaugurated the Parsi Nationalist Political Conference on August 17. Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Minister for Public Health and Works, Bombay, presided.

The Premier, speaking in Hindustani, praised them for playing a very important role in the field of commerce and politics. "Yours is the only community which never tried to obstruct the country's progress by asking for separate electorates or protection. India is grateful to you for this as well as for the positive contribution made by you in political, industrial and other fields", he added.

## SIR C. V. RAMAN'S PLEA FOR A POWERFUL ARMY

"There are two schools of thought, the violent and non-violent, but whatever school of thought one abides by, I do feel strongly that India needs a very powerful army," said Sir C. V. Raman addressing the V. C. O.'s at the R. I. A. S. C. training centre at Hebbal.

He added: "The army in India is made up of all castes, creeds and people, who belong to different religions. These people have worked together and have formed bonds of unity, which cannot be broken by politicians who do not know the magnitude of the work in the army."

Sir C. V. Raman said: "Everybody respects the strength of force and we too will be respected if we have that strength of force by building up a strong army, navy and air-force. Let us have plenty of force, but let it be strictly non-violent."

## GOVERNORS' SALARIES

The salaries of Governors have been reduced by India (Provisional Constitution) Order.

The order brings down the salaries of all Governors uniformly to Rs. 66,000 per annum, but exempts the present incumbents of two governorships (Bombay and Madras) who are staying on.

Before the 15th August their salaries ranged from Rs. 1,20,000 per annum in the case of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces, Rs. 1,00,000 for the Punjab and Bihar governorships, Rs. 72,000 in the case of the Central Provinces and Rs. 66,000 each for the Governors of Assam and Orissa.

Since the salaries of Governors are not free of income-tax, the effective net salary of a Governor after the 15th August is about Rs. 3,000 a month.

## THE FRONTIER MINISTRY

The Congress Ministry in the North-West Frontier Province was, on Aug 22 dismissed by the Governor, Sir George Cunningham, who asked the leader of the League Opposition in the Legislative Assembly to form a Ministry. The following communique was issued from Government House, Peshawar on Aug 22.

"Dr. Khan Sahib's Ministry has to-day been dismissed from office."

Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan has since formed the Ministry.

## PARTITION COUNCILS

The Governor-General has set up four Partition Councils to deal with matters arising between India and Pakistan and subjects relating to the division of the Punjab and Bengal. The creation of an Arbitral Tribunal to make awards in respect of references made to it by the two Dominions is also announced. The Tribunal will consist of Sir Patrick Spens (Chairman), Sir H. J. Kania and Khan Bahadur Mohamed Ismail.

## MR. JINNAH'S ASSURANCE TO MINORITIES.

"You are free to go to your temples and to your places of worship in this State of Pakistan," said Mr. Jinnah assuring the minorities in the course of his presidential address to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

"If you work in a spirit of co-operation forgetting the past and burying the hatchet, I will say that every one of you, no matter to what community you belong no matter what is your colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this state with equal rights, privileges and obligations".

## THE CENTRE AND THE UNITS

Shri Alladi Krishnaswamy Aiyer made a forceful plea for the retention of the provisions of the Union Powers Committee report when the Constituent Assembly resumed discussion on the report on August 21 when Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, was in the chair. Shri Alladi was replying to the criticisms made by Shri Santanam the previous day that the report sought to saddle the centre with powers which should normally have been vested in the provinces.

The House accepted the motion for consideration of the Union Powers Committee's report by an overwhelming majority.

## COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

India has accepted the invitation to the Commonwealth Relations Conference, convened by Australia on August 26, at Canberra to hold preliminary discussions on the Japanese Peace Treaty.

The Indian Delegation consists of Sir B. Rama Rau (delegate, and Mr. K. L. Punjabi (adviser). Mr. K. R. Damle of the Indian High Commissioner's Office in Australia will act as Secretary to the Delegation.

# Educational

## HIGHER EDUCATION IN AMERICA

A comprehensive account of the system of higher education in America is given by Prof. M. S. Sundaram, Educational Liaison Officer, Indian Embassy, Washington, in a letter addressed to Prof. Ghanshyam Jethanand, Leader of the Sind Assembly Congress Party.

Prof. Sundaram says that almost every year mail addressed to the Embassy from India brings on unusually large number of requests for admissions to American institutions.

While it is true that the U. S. A. has a very large number of universities, polytechnics and other professional schools, it is not correct to think that every one of them is capable of imparting post-graduate instruction. Many institutions are equipped only for a four-year under-graduate course.

The under-graduate courses are in no way better than the under-graduate courses in Indian universities. It is, therefore, uneconomical for any student from India to go to the U. S. A. for a four year under-graduate course which he can complete at much less cost in India.

Graduates from Indian universities discover after their arrival in the U. S. A. that they have several under-graduate deficiencies which they have to make up before fitting into postgraduate institutions known in the U. S. A. as graduate school. Several Indian students, according to Prof. Sundaram, have to take special courses in higher Mathematics (a subject which they can very well pursue at home) and spend a good deal of time in preparing themselves for the graduate course.

Institutions for higher education in the U. S. A. also require proficiency in two modern languages (French, German, Russian, Spanish) and Indian students would do well to study these languages at home before attempting to secure admission there.

## MUSLIM WOMEN'S COLLEGE IN MADRAS

Following the representations made by Muslim representatives, the Government of Madras have decided to issue orders to continue the B. A. classes in the College for Muslim Women in Madras City and to rescind their earlier directive to keep these classes in abeyance owing to their poor strength.

A Government Press Note states:

Representations have been received that it will cause great hardship if the B. A. classes in the Government Muslim College for Women are to be closed in the middle of the year. Certain general representations have also been received that these classes may not be closed now and that the strength in these classes may improve in the coming years. The present strength in the Junior B. A. and Senior B. A. classes is 1 Muslim and 8 non-Muslims and 2 Muslims and 3 non-Muslims respectively, making up a total of 14 girls of whom three only are Muslims. If the staff and posts sanctioned for the B. A. classes are abolished, the savings that will accrue to Government will be Rs. 24,816 excluding dearness allowance. The Government still feel that to spend Rs. 24,816 on such a small number and for only three Muslim girls is not economical. In view of the above representations and more strength being promised, the Government are issuing orders keeping on those classes. Their further continuance must depend upon their adequate strength in the future.

## NEW COLLEGE FOR SIVAGANGA

Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, Education Minister, opened the Raja Dorasingham College at Sivaganga, on August 11. The college is one of the seven colleges which have received temporary recognition by the Syndicate of the Madras University.

The Raja of Sivaganga has donated Rs. 2 lakhs and has given 100 acres of land for the college. One of the big buildings of the Raja will be used as hostel for the College. Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, former Professor of Indian History, Annamalai University, has been appointed Principal of the College.

## RAJAPUTANA UNIVERSITY

Dr. G. S. Mahajan, Principal, Ferguson College, Poona, has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of Rajputana University for a term of three years.

## NEW CHIEF JUSTICE OF INDIA

Sir Harilal Jekisondas Kania has been appointed Chief Justice of India in the place of Sir William Patrick Spens, now Chairman of the Arbitration Tribunal in India.

Sir Saiyid Fazl Ali has been appointed a Judge of the Federal Court of India.

Sir Harilal has been Judge, Federal Court of India since June 1946. He has had about 18 years' practice at the Bombay Bar as an Advocate on the Original side of the High Court, and was Judge, Bombay High Court till June 1946.

He acted as Chief Justice in 1944 and again in 1945.

## THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA

The Constituent Assembly, has adopted the clause in the Union Constitution Report for the setting up of a Supreme Court, on the lines suggested by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Union Judiciary.

The House, after a 90-minute debate, accepted Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar's amendment in respect of the removal of Judges of the Supreme Court, which said that Judges of the Supreme Court shall not be removed from office except by the President on an address from both the Houses of Parliament for such removal on grounds of proved misbehaviour or incapacity.

## PAKISTAN AND PRIVY COUNCIL

It is learnt that it has been provisionally decided that pending the establishment of a Pakistan Federal Court, the Privy Council will continue to hear appeals from the High Courts of the Pakistan Dominion.

## MR. JUSTICE BYERS

H. E. the Governor-General, in pursuance of his announcement dated April 30, 1947, has authorised the release from service of the Hon. Mr. Justice Byers, I.C.S., with effect from the date of relief.

## DEATH SENTENCES COMMUTED

The Government of Madras have decided to commute the death sentences in all cases in the Province, pending before the Independence Day on August 15, to imprisonment.

The Government have also resolved to remit the unexpired portion of sentences of imprisonment in the case of prisoners who have already undergone imprisonment for ten years and release them on the eve of the Independence Day.

Special remissions have been granted in the case of other categories of prisoners, including those undergoing imprisonment for Prohibition offences.

Cases of political prisoners and detenus under the Maintenance of Public Order Act, are under examination.

In the meantime, it is understood, the Government have called for views from District Magistrates regarding "Communist" detenus, from the stand point of security, with particular reference of Malabar and Kistna.

## JUDGES FROM THE BAR

The Council of the Madras Advocates Association has passed a resolution placing on record "its high appreciation of the support given by the Provincial Government in the recent appointments to the High Court Bench from amongst the members of the Bar and conveys its thanks in particular to His Excellency the Governor, the Premier and the Minister for Law."

## MR CHAGLA TO ACT AS CHIEF JUSTICE

The Governor-General has appointed the Honourable Mr. Justice Mahomedali Currim Chagla, Judge of the Bombay High Court, to act as Chief Justice of that Court from August 15, 1947, in the place of the Honourable Sir Leonard Stone granted leave, says a *communiqué*.



# Insurance

## TAX ON "LIFE" COMPANIES

Life assurance companies now pay tax on interest income less restricted expenses, or the total surplus disclosed less 50 per cent. of the amounts distributed to policyholders, whichever is greater. It is recommended that the first method be permitted to stand in view of the high expenses of certain companies. As regards the second, the Government are urged to allow 100 per cent. of the amount distributed to policyholders to be deducted from the surplus disclosed.

Another recommendation is that the "ceiling" rate of tax fixed for Life insurance companies should be lowered.

Premia paid by an assessee in excess of Rs. 6,000 are disallowed for purposes of rebate of income-tax. In the changed economic conditions of the country, the Sub-Committee feels that this level should be raised to Rs. 10,000.

General insurance companies are advised to build up a special reserve out of their underwriting profits, in addition to the customary 40 per cent. for unexpired risks. This special reserve should be free from tax, being regarded as an item of expenditure, until it reaches 100 per cent. of the annual premium income for Fire and Accident insurance and 150 per cent. for Marine insurance.

## NOVEL INSURANCE.

Britain's most novel insurance policy has been taken out by Maureen Hurley, a twenty-two-year-old London actress, who hails from Sligo, Ireland.

Maureen, who is a 5-ft. 2-in. sand-blond, with an attractive face, figure and fascination, has "oomph" or sex appeal.

Determined to make the theatre her career, Maureen surprised insurance experts by asking them to guarantee her sex appeal for £5,000.

There was no precedent for such a policy, but after a conference they agreed.

## INSURANCE INVESTMENTS AS TRUST MONIES

As regards capital structure and voting rights, the Report of the Insurance Advisory Committee lays down that investment of Life insurance funds, which are virtually trust monies, must be made solely in the interests of policyholders, "and it should be ensured that the control of these huge funds does not pass into the hands of any one individual or group of individuals who can manipulate the funds to their own advantage." It is, therefore, recommended that no shareholder of a Life insurance company should have more than ten votes irrespective of his holding, the face value of each share to be not more than Rs. 100.

In order to avoid unnecessary interference by a shareholder who is not really interested in the Company, it is suggested that insurers must have the right to remove such a shareholder subject to certain necessary safeguards.

## RE-INSURANCE FACILITIES

Since a large proportion of a Life insurance company's funds belong to policyholders, the Sub-Committee recommends legislation which would make it impossible for any insurer to utilise more than 10 per cent. of the company's surplus for the benefits of shareholders. "This limit may be further reduced in cases where the surplus is very large."

Some members, contending that 10 per cent. is too high, suggest that profits of a Life company should be shared between shareholders and policyholders in proportion to the funds contributed by them.

Holding that the existing re-insurance for Indian companies are inadequate, the Report suggests the setting up of an Indian Re-insurance Corporation, either State controlled or as a private enterprise actively supported by Indian General insurance companies and fully supported by the Government.

# Trade and Finance

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## INDO-BRITISH STERLING AGREEMENT

"The Indo-British sterling arrangement will remain unaffected by the announcement of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer suspending the convertibility of sterling to dollars and India will be an exception to the British policy," announced Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, first Finance Minister of the Dominion of India at the Press Conference at Delhi on August 22. Within a week of assuming his new office, the Finance Minister convened his first Press Conference to explain the implications of the Indo-British agreement. At the time the Press Conference was announced, the Government of India was not aware of the British Government's intention to suspend the convertibility of sterling to dollars.

The Government of India got into touch with His Majesty's Government and received a definite assurance that the announcement would not apply to India and that the Indo-British sterling agreement would be fully honoured.

Narrating the genesis of the sterling balances and how they accrued, the Finance Minister categorically declared that these balances were the property of the Reserve Bank of India and any question of scaling down did not arise either on moral or technical grounds. It was a very carefully worded and impressive statement that the Finance Minister delivered.

The Finance Minister paid a well-deserved tribute to the members of the Indian delegation which concluded the agreement. The delegation consisted of Mr. Narahari Rao, Finance Secretary, and Mr. B. C. Roy and was accompanied by Mr. Cayley of the Reserve Bank.

Analysing the main features of the agreement, Mr. Shanmukham Chetti said that India would have roughly eighty million pounds for her use in any currency for the period ending December 31, 1947. The Finance Minister, however, hastened

to sound a note of warning that it was in India's interest to strengthen sterling, and India should, therefore, co-operate with Britain as best as possible. The need for imposing on ourselves an austere economy was indeed very great, warned the Finance Minister.

## SHIPPING DELEGATION

The Government sponsored Indian shipping Delegation is returning to India, following the failure of the Shipping Conference in London with British ship-owners and there is no prospect of a resumption of negotiations at this stage, it is learnt.

The Government of India have instructed their High Commissioner in London to advise the members of the Delegation that for the time being they do not feel that any useful purpose will be served by trying to re-open negotiations with British Ship-owners and that members of the Indian Delegation can now return.

It will be recalled that earlier the Government of India had asked the delegation to await the conclusion of correspondence they were carrying on with H. M. G.

While the possibility of future negotiations between India and British ship-owners is not ruled out, it is believed that the Government of India will explore the possibility of obtaining help from countries other than the United Kingdom in developing India's merchant marine and it is understood that the new Commerce Member Mr. C. H. Bhabha has already taken up the matter.

## TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovak Government Trade Commissioner, Yusu, Building, 43, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1, will welcome enquiries from Indian firms interested in importing Czechoslovak articles to India and exporting Indian goods to Czechoslovakia.

# Women's Page

## CONDITIONS OF WOMEN IN PROFESSIONS

The Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference at its three-day session in Jabulpore authorised Mrs. Kapila Khandawala to investigate the working conditions of women in the Service and other professions, and submit a report by November.

Mrs. Kamaladevi exhorted the members to spread education among women, to try to become self-supporting, and to take a proper place in society on an equal basis, as backward women were a great liability to any nation. She urged the Government, and society, to improve the lot of women.

Lady Rama Rau criticised men for keeping women under their slavery, and denying them freedom to enjoy an equal status in society. She appealed to men to help women, and give them liberty to earn their bread honourably. She also urged women to assert their rights.

## WOMAN MEMBERS OF LABOUR PARTY EXECUTIVE

A new name in the British Labour Party's National Executive is Eirene Jones. She has been elected to the Party's National Executive in the place of Jennie Adamson who has retired after 20 years of service.

Eirene Jones is a political journalist, the lobby correspondent in the House of Commons for the *Manchester Evening News*.

Other woman members of the National Executive are: Dr. Edith Summerskill, M.P., Mrs. Barbara Ayrton Gould, M.P., Miss Alice Bacon, M.P., and Mrs. Elizabeth Braddock, M.P. who filled the vacancy when Miss Ellen Wilkinson died.

## MRS. AUNG SAN FOR B. C. A.

Mrs. Aung San, wife of General U Aung San, Deputy Chairman of the Burma Executive Council, who with six other Ministers was assassinated during a Cabinet meeting on July 19, has been returned unopposed to the Burmese Constituent Assembly.

## DRAWBACK OF COLLEGE GIRLS

Addressing a conference on family problems at Cincinnati, Dr. Paul Popenoe, Director of the American Institute of Family Relations, said that 25 to 50 per cent. of women graduating from colleges were failing to marry and that the divorce rate among those who did marry was four times that of the male graduates.

"College students are up in arms protesting against the failure of the institutions to prepare them for the most important experiences of their lives," he continued.

Students, according to the doctor, want helpful instructions in courtship, choice of mate, harmony in marriage and child guidance.

## THE AVERAGE FRENCH WOMAN

Investigation by a group of French statisticians show that the average French woman marries at 22 and gets a divorce at 27, that she drinks more than a man and stays away from husband and church. An average French woman tries to divide herself into four—mother, housekeeper, intelligent and politically-minded conversationalist and a pin-up girl. Also, instead of saying prayers, before going to bed, she goes through a series of beauty treatments.

## HIGHEST PAID WOMAN IN THE WORLD

Miss Dorothy Shaver, President of the Lord and Taylor department store, was the highest paid woman in the United States in 1945.

Miss Shaver received a yearly salary of 110,000 dollars (about Rs. 3,55,000).

## ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The All-India Women's Conference has been granted a consultative status by the Economic and Social Council along with other non-Governmental agencies.

**CULTURAL EXCELLENCE OF SANSKRIT**

The cultural excellence of Sanskrit literature was referred to by Mr. Justice V. Govindarajachari, inaugurating the Loyola College Sanskrit Association, Madras. The speaker interspersed his address with copious quotations from Valmiki and Kalidasa to bring out the richness of ideas in their works.

Mr. Govindarajachari said that it was impossible to conceive of Indian culture without Sanskrit in the background. While not disparaging the importance of other languages in the country he believed that the connecting link among these languages was Sanskrit. It was the most ancient. The Indian culture was one and the same. There was absolutely no difference in the ideas expressed through the medium of different languages. The speaker added that the difference, if there was any, was more imaginary than real.

**JOURNALISTS' ROLE IN PUBLIC LIFE**

The formation of an All-India Council of Journalists on the same line as the All-India Medical Council was suggested by Dr. Pattabhi Siteramayya, addressing Benares journalists. He said that such a council should guard the morale of the profession on the lines of a code of honour drawn up by the profession.

Dr. Pattabhi said that a journalist should not be a careerist. A journalist was a public man, a builder of public life and therefore a responsible person. He should not be a sensation-monger.

**CALCUTTA JOURNALISTS' RESOLVE**

Journalists of Calcutta, Hindus and Muslims, at a meeting on August 20 pledged their wholehearted co-operation in making permanent the restoration of good-will between Hindus and Muslims in the city and decided not to write anything which might provoke communal feeling.

The meeting was held under the joint auspices of the Muslim Journalists of Calcutta and the Indian Journalists' Association. Mr. Satyendranath Majumdar, Member of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, presiding.

**NEW INDIAN CABINET**

The new Cabinet which has begun to function from August 15, consists of the following:

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru: Prime Minister, External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations and Scientific Research.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel: Home, Information and Broadcasting and Stages.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Food and Agriculture.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Education.

Dr. John Matthai: Railway and Transport.

Sardar Baldev Singh: Defence.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram: Labour.

Mr. C. H. Bhabha: Commerce.

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai: Communications.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: Health.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Law.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetti: Finance.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee: Industries and Supplies.

Mr. N. V. Gadgil: Works, Mines and Power.

**PAKISTAN CABINET**

The new Pakistan Dominion Central Ministry consists of six members headed by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Premier.

The following are the personnel of the Ministry along with their portfolios.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan—External Affairs and Defence.

Mr. Ghulam Mohamed—Finance.

Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan—Home, Food, Agriculture and Health.

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar—Railway, Communications, Information and Broadcasting.

Mr. I. I. Chundrigar—Commerce, Industry and Civil Supplies.

Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal—Law, Education, Works, Mines and Power.

**MR. V. K. KRISHNA MENON**

The Government have of India appointed Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon as the High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom. Mr. Krishna Menon took charge of his new office on August 15, 1947.

## WARNING TO INDIAN MEDICAL STUDENTS

A warning to Indian medical students who contemplate visiting Britain for hospital training was issued by Dr. R. U. Hingorani, well-known Harley Street eye specialist, who during many years' residence in England has had a long association with welfare work.

He stated: "Many Indian medical men are still coming to this country expecting to obtain admission to British hospitals. They waste months in fruitless applications. Then they are finally forced to read for their examinations wherever they may have managed to secure board and lodging here. For their practical training, they have to take their chance to make periodical visits to hospitals under the most difficult conditions.

It is not realised in India that all the hospitals in Great Britain are overcrowded and are experiencing great difficulty in accommodating even their own old students returning from the services."

## I. M. S. MEN IN MADRAS

The Government of Madras have terminated the services of all I. M. S. men in the Province after August 15. The only exception are Major Reed, Personal Surgeon to His Excellency the Governor of Madras whose services are retained in that post so long as the present Governor continues to hold that office.

This decision follows a recent inquiry from the Government of India as to whether the Provincial Government wished to retain the services of any of the I. M. S. men and if so how many of them.

## INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

The Committee on Indigenous Systems of Medicine appointed by the Government of India has decided to extend the date for receipt of replies to its questionnaires from July 15, 1947, to September 1.

## DR. JIVARAJ MEHTA

Dr. Jivaraj Mehta has been appointed Director-General of Medical Services, Dominion of India. He assumed charge of his new office on August 15.

## DRUG THAT DESTROYS APPETITE

The alcoholic may soon be able to curb his taste for liquor by taking a capsule containing a drug which will kill the appetite for alcohol, says Dr. A. C. Ivy, vice-president in charge of the professional colleges of the University of Illinois.

Dr. Ivy, in the course of a statement to the *Chicago Tribune* tells of a number of experiments on dogs which revealed the ability of the drug benzedrine to destroy the appetite for food. "In the case of one dog," he said, "the drug was injected for 28 days during which the dog did not eat. The animal lost 25 per cent. of its body weight. It appeared the dog could have been starved to death, but at the end of 28 days the injections were stopped and the dog resumed eating."

Dr. Ivy said scientists have reason to believe that the desire for food or drink is formed in a specific part of the brain and that a drug may be developed that will control the appetite area for alcohol.

## MAN CAN LIVE 112

A life of from 109 to 112 years appears theoretically and potentially possible for human beings, according to Dr. V. Korenchevsky, Director of the Gerontological Research Unit at Oxford. Writing in the *British Medical Journal* he says that helpless old people become a great burden on the younger working population, but that position may not persist. It is probable that medicine and science will not only add years of life to the aged but will simultaneously conserve physical and mental vigour for longer periods.

## INDIAN YOGI'S TRANCE PROTEST!

On a New Delhi street, writes *News week*, policemen picked up the inert body of a scrawny Indian. They carried it to the station house. The doctors listened through their stethoscopes and pronounced the Indian dead. A few hours later his "corpse" walked out of the station. He was a Hindu yogi who had gone into a trance.

## REPORT OF INTERIM SETTLEMENT

An interim settlement regarding India's sterling balances, has been reached in London, on the lines of the settlement of the Egyptian sterling balances.

The agreement covers a period of six months and will make available to the Dominions of India and Pakistan an amount of approximately £60 million multilaterally convertible.

No settlement has yet been reached between the representatives of the two Dominions to be as this is part of the general question of the division of assets and liabilities which will come up before the Arbitration Tribunal immediately it comes into being.

The long-term settlement of the sterling balances, it is expected, will be negotiated towards the end of October when a joint Indo-Pakistan mission will go to London.

## RUPEE-LIRA PARITY

The official parity of the Italian Lira in terms of the Indian Rupee has been altered from 67 95 to 105 70 Lire, according to a *communiqué* received by the Italian Government Trade Commissioner in India from the Italian Government.

The *communiqué* says: "The official parity of Italian lira-dollar has been altered to Lire 350 to one dollar from the previous one of 225 Lire, in force since January 4, 1946

"Parities with other currencies change accordingly. For the Pound Sterling from 907 31 to 1411 32; for the Indian Rupee from 67 95 to 105 70 lire.

"The aim of the present decision is to reduce the difference between the official and the "ree" rate.

"Currency Regulations in force in favour of foreign trade remain unchanged.

"The exchange rate in force for Italian exports remains, therefore, the average rate between the new official and the "export" rates."

## TRANSFER OF RAILWAY PERSONNEL

Twenty-five thousand non-Muslim employees of the North-Western Railway, who form nearly two sevenths of the total strength of the personnel, have given their option for being transferred to the East Punjab Railway. Non-Muslim employees forming one per cent. have elected to stay at their posts in Pakistan. All European officers and subordinate employees have been retained in the North-Western Railway.

To expedite and facilitate the transfer of personnel from the West to the East Punjab, the Railway Board has appointed the following two Transfer officers:

1. Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ibrahim (Senior Assistant, Personnel) and 2. Rai Bahadur A. D. Dhall (Chief Engineer, N. W. R.).

The transfer of personnel is expected to be completed by the end of October next.

It is understood that 25,000 Muslim employees in other Indian Railways have expressed the desire to the Railway Board to transfer their services to the Pakistan Railways, which include the N. W. R. and the East Bengal Railway.

With the partition of the personnel and the assets of N.-W. Railway proceeding apace, it is learnt that the Experts Committees for the Railway engaged in the work have received orders from the Railway Board in Delhi to divide equally the office equipment between the West and the East Punjab. The office equipment include only typewriters, duplicating machines, barcro machines and drawing instructions.

In view of the orders for a fifty-fifty division of the office equipment, a protest, it is understood, is being lodged with the Railway Board on the ground that while only two-sevenths of the personnel have opted for the East Punjab Railway, they were not entitled to a share of assets higher than their proportion.

# GANDHIJI'S PORTRAIT FOR INDIA'S PARLIAMENT

A life-size portrait of Mahatma Gandhi, painted seventeen years ago by the famous Oswald Birloy during Mahatma Gandhi's visit to London to attend the Second Round Table Conference, was unveiled ceremonially in the Constituent Assembly.

Later, it is understood, the portrait will be transferred to the Lower House of Free India's Parliament—probably the only portrait that will ever adorn its walls.

The portrait had been bought by the late Sir Prabha Shankar Pattani and kept sealed in the family vault at Bhavnagar all these years. His son, Mr. A. P. Pattani, Dewan of Bhavnagar, who is a member of the Constituent Assembly, has presented it to the Assembly.

Sir Prabha Shankar, who was a great admirer of Mahatma Gandhi, did not for a long time confide even to his family members as to what he intended to do with the portrait. Before his death, he told his son that it was his intention to present it to the nation when it becomes free.

According to Sir Prabha Shankar, "it was the portrait of the saint who preached non-violence which is ultimately the only right way in human affairs."

Mr. A. P. Pattani presented the portrait to the Assembly and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Premier, and other leaders were present when the original seals were opened.

# EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART IN BRITAIN

Arrangements for sending exhibits from India for the Royal Academy's Exhibition of Indian Art to be held in London in the winter of 1947-48 are nearing completion, says a Press Note.

The Chairman of the India Executive Committee of the Royal Academy Exhibition of Indian Art has assured all collaborators that every care will be taken of the loans made to the Royal Academy and that they will be safely returned.

# INDIAN TOUR OF AUSTRALIA

The Board of Control for Cricket in India met in New Delhi last month with Mr. A. S. De Mello, the President of the Board, in the chair.

The Secretary of the Board, Mr. Pankaj Gupta, announced the details of the forthcoming tour to Australia. According to the schedule, the team will leave by the "Orient" from Colombo on September 26, arriving at Freemantle on October 6. The first match will be played on October 17. The team will assemble at Madras on September 22 and will fly to Colombo where a match will be played on September 24, 25 and 26.

Mr. De Mello, addressing the Committee, said: "We are to-day an independent nation. Let us as a body of cricketers give our pledge of service and dedication to the nation and her people." He added: "India has a mission to perform—a mission of goodwill and peace and with a good heart, let us, as sportsmen, play our part in this mission to make India an irresistible influence for the elimination of all violent conflicts in the future."

# TELEVISION OF SPORT EVENTS

Television programme of major Sporting events and other special features will be introduced this Autumn into six big cinemas in London's West End, Mr. J. Arthur Rank, British film magnate, announced on his return from the United States. A Television Research Station set up in the suburb of Sydenham will beam television direct to the Dominion Theatre in London's Tottenham Court Road. This will be the key theatre from which programmes will be relayed to other West End Picture Houses.

Ten-minute excerpts and outstanding events of general public interest—the last lap of the Derby or the Football Cup Final—will be the first features of the Television presentation.

## APPLIED SCIENCE TO AID INDUSTRY

An announcement that Government were constituting a committee of scientists to study provincial problems in applied science from the industrial and economic point of view, was made by Mr. Sampurnanand, Minister of Finance and Education, United Provinces, addressing the provincial Economic Advisory Board.

Mr. Sampurnanand said that to start with a sum of Rs. 50,000 would be placed at the disposal of the committee which would have power to select any scientist and any science laboratory within the province to conduct its researches. The work of the committee would be public property and no private patents could be taken out on the results of the committee's researches.

## SCIENTISTS' WARNING

An emergency committee of atomic energy scientists, Prof. Albert Einstein presiding, declared in a statement that the United Nations "has failed utterly" to find a plan for atomic control.

The statement warned that a full-fledged atom-bomb war might break out within eight years. Russia would have the start of a bomb stock piles in 1955, adding. Once stock piles of atom-bombs have been accumulated by two national blocs of a divided world, it will no longer be possible to maintain peace."

It said the United Nations had failed to find an effective safeguard, because each major nation jockeyed around in the negotiations, trying to place itself in the "most advantageous position to win the next world war."

Men of science, said the statement, felt that the only alternative to another war was the creation of a world Government with real power to enforce peace.

## TESTING LABORATORY FOR MADRAS

The Government have under consideration a proposal to start a Chemical Testing and Analytical Laboratory in the Madras City, shortly. The Laboratory will be used for testing raw materials and finding out their utility for industrial purposes.

## DRINKING SCENES IN FILMS

To remove confusion as to what constitutes a "drinking scene in films" which it has banned, the Bombay Government has issued a clarification.

"If the scenes are meant," it says, "to make fun of the idea of prohibition, to ridicule government which have decided on prohibition, to induce people to become indifferent to such a programme or to encourage them to break prohibition laws, or to glorify drinking, to show it as a fashion or to describe it as a social custom about which there is nothing wrong, to make it popular, to paint it as healthy, honourable or respectable, and to make it appear as religious, then such scenes are objectionable and will be removed from the films.....In view of the sufficient notice to producers, the date from which such drinking scenes will be disallowed will be October 1, 1947."

If on the other hand, writes the *A. B. Patrika*, there are films avowedly meant to propagate the idea of abstinence, drinking scenes being meant to condemn drink will not be cut out, the note hastens to clarify.

## NEW STUDIO FOR MADRAS

Chandra Art Studios is the latest studio in Madras. Well-equipped with the latest appliances, the studio started functioning from last month and shooting of *Bakta Chiralan*, popularly known as *Siruthondar* in Telugu with a stellar cast including Rishyendramani, Gaggiab, Raja Rao, Sundaramma and others is progressing. Mr. G. R. Rao, the managing director of the studio is directing the picture.

## ALLOTMENT OF RAW FILMS

A deputation of the Indian Motion Pictures Producers' Association waited on the Commerce Member, Mr. C. H. Bhabha last month and pressed for an increased allotment of raw film for the industry. It is understood the Commerce Member assured the deputationists that the question would be examined in November before deciding on a long-term arrangement.



## MOTOR CARS GO UNDERGROUND!

With the announcement of the Government of India's import policy, new motor cars have all gone underground in Calcutta, says 'Homa' in *Hindustan Standard*.

Of course, he says, they run above the ground. Only the transactions are done below the ground. The trade on cars is running very fast at top speed, honest dealers having sold the vehicles to honest purchasers who have suddenly discovered that they do not need an automobile and are therefore forced to sell on a minimum margin of profit from Rs. 5,000 to 10,000 according to size.

## CHEVROLET'S NEW PROGRAMME

The Chevrolet motor division of General Motors Corporation has begun operations at a giant new assembly plant at Flint, Michigan, designed to produce 60 passenger cars and 20 trucks per hour. When another new works of Chevrolet in the State of California is ready for operation, Chevrolet will have a productive capacity of 9,000 vehicles each day.

## CAR MANUFACTURE IN JAPAN

Japan will soon begin manufacture of small passenger automobiles, but only 300 will be produced each year. The automobiles will be sold only to Japanese doctors, police and Government agencies, and to business firms and taxicab companies for use on official business.

## 1,000 AUTOMOBILES PER MONTH

The Volkswagen (people's car) Factory in Brunswick is producing 1,000 automobiles per month, British Military Government reports. The Volkswagens are to be used for Military Government needs, urgent civilian requirements, and to be sold to Britons and Americans for pounds sterling or for dollars. The sales to Americans and Britons will be considered exports.

## DIVISION OF THE R.I.A.F.

India is to have eight and Pakistan two of the ten squadrons of the Royal Indian Air Force, it is reliably learnt. This division is based on the ratio of Muslim and non-Muslim personnel of the Air Force. It is further learnt that a third squadron may be created for Pakistan out of spare machines at the disposal of the Government of India, though it is not certain whether Pakistan will immediately have the necessary personnel. This completes the division of all the three branches of the armed forces.

## CEYLON—MADRAS AIR SERVICE

A tentative agreement has been reached between the Ceylon Government and Air India Limited on most of technical points relating to operation by the Island's State-owned, Air Ceylon, of thrice a week two-way shuttle air service between Colombo and Madras.

This is the result of discussions between the Director of Civil Aviation, Mr. L. S. Perera and Acting General Manager, Air India, Squadron Leader K. J. Bhore.

The agreement is subject to ratification by Ceylon's Board of Ministers and Board of Directors, Air India.

## DACCA—KARACHI AIR SERVICE

With the partition of the country all air contracts between the Government of India and the various air-service companies, are understood to have lapsed. It is gathered that all air-routes will be re-divided after sometime.

It is understood that the Oriental Air Service of which Mr. Isphani is a partner, contemplates to run a daily non-stop air service between Dacca and Karachi in order to link the Capital of Eastern Pakistan with the Capital of the Pakistan Dominion Government.

## Industry

### EXPANSION OF SHIPPING

Sri Raghavan Pillai, Secretary of the Commerce Department of the Government of India, arrived in London on August 6 from Geneva where he led the Indian Delegation in the International Trade Conference. The purpose of his visit to London was to consult Mr. Walchand Hirachand and Mr. M. A. Master on the future of Indian shipping.

The United Press of India has been informed that the India Government fully approved the statement issued by the Indian Delegation in reply to the British group and was prepared to proceed with its own shipping policy even with help from the British shipping interests, if necessary.

In this connection, it is known that both India and Pakistan intend to pursue a joint policy. But in view of the world shipping shortage and the advisability of maintaining good relations, with British concerns while carrying out its national policy, the India and Pakistan Governments thought it necessary that their policy and the policies of the Indian shipping lines must be integrated, dovetailed, and directed with singleness of purpose. This appears to be the background of Sri Raghavan Pillai's visit.

### STABILISATION OF SILK INDUSTRY

A five-year programme of stabilization of the silk industry in India, preliminary to a phase of expansion during the next two quinquennia is recommended by the Silk Panel appointed by the Government of India.

"Consolidation rather than expansion is the immediate need of the silk industry in India," the report says.

Referring to the future of the industry, the report says: "If the industry is developed by State assistance as part of war efforts, it is now left unsupported, it may collapse and with it an important source of India's war strength."

The Panel has also recommended that the Japanese silk entering India by way of reparations should not be allowed to undersell Indian silk.

## Agriculture

### FOOD POSITION IN INDIA

The agricultural outlook in view of the continued absence of rain in several parts of the country is considered extremely gloomy. There is definite suggestion of famine in Kathiawar, parts of Rajasthan, places round Delhi and east Punjab. Rainfall has been very irregular and inadequate in parts of Bombay. And the rich crop in Bengal (though far less important than *aman* which is Bengal's main source of supply which is due to ripen in December) has been a great failure in the absence of rain, writes a Press Correspondent from Delhi.

According to reports which have reached Delhi, sowings have been delayed in several parts of the country like Gwalior, Bhopal, Indore and Kashmir. Bihar also reports that the early maize crop has been practically destroyed through drought. Many parts of the United Provinces have been compelled to restrict sowings owing to late arrival of monsoon. The precise magnitude of the deficit will not be known now.

Apart from shortage of food stocks in the country to which, Dr Rajendra Prasad drew attention during his summer tour in South India, procurement this year has been unsatisfactory. Even in Madras where this year's rice crop was better than last year's by a million tons, the results of procurement have been disappointing. During the first half of 1946 procurement produced 12'26 lakh tons while this year it was little more than 11 lakh tons—the drop being over a lakh of tons in spite of a much bigger rice crop.

### FREE GIFT OF LAND TO POLITICAL SUFFERERS

The Government of Madras have decided to make free gifts of land for political sufferers at the rate of five acres each to mark the general rejoicing on the Independence Day. Details are being worked out.

### GURANTEED ANNUAL WAGE

Mr. Philip Murray, President of the Congress of Industrial organisations puts the case for a guaranteed annual wage for the American worker in language which can be adapted to the conditions of Indian labour. Taking the case of the steel industries, he says that

the war experience demonstrates that the guaranteed wage is an essential incentive for the management of the steel companies to take the pains to plan production on a more regulated yearly basis.

Another basic factor which makes the guaranteed annual wage essentially feasible is the refundable Federal taxes guaranteed to industry by the Revenue Act. Much of the wartime excess profits taxes paid by industry are refundable. The steel industry for example, is guaranteed a refund of at least enough of its wartime taxes to assure it—for any two years—net profits as high, or higher, than it made in peacetime.

All that the Union is asking with its request for annual guarantee is that the Steel Corporations which have their guarantee should make a firm commitment to their employees.

We do not think it fair or just that the protection for employees be left to the whim and fancy of the steel corporations. If these guaranteed post-war profits are used to pay dividends while workers walk the streets seeking jobs, they are not justified. If they are used to provide the guaranteed annual wage to labor, then they will promote post-war jobs and prosperity.

### COMPULSORY PROFIT SHARING

The Yuvaraja of Pithapuram has sought the permission of the Congress Legislature Party to introduce in the Madras Legislative Assembly, a Bill urging the Government to bring in legislation for compulsory profit-sharing between employees and employers, and another urging the Government to institute statutory advisory committees, consisting of legislators and other experts, for each Government Department.

### TATA'S PROFIT-SHARING BONUS SCHEME

It is learnt that the Tata Iron and Steel Co., will pay to each of its employees a profit-sharing bonus, equivalent to three and half months basic pay, out of the profit earned by the company during the year ending March 31, 1947.

### GOVERNORS OF PROVINCES

The following Governors of Provinces which after August 15 form part of the Dominion of India have been invited and have agreed to continue to serve as Governors in the same Provinces:

Lieutenant General Sir Archibald Edward Nye, Governor of Madras; Col. Sir David John Colville, Governor of Bombay, and Sir Mohammed Saleh Akbar Hydari, Assam.

The King has approved the appointments of the following as Governors of other provinces with effect from August 15.

### DOMINION OF INDIA

West Bengal, Mr. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari;

East Punjab, Sri Chandulal Madhavlal Trivedi;

Central Provinces and Berar, Mr. Mangaldas Pakwasa,

Bihar, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram.

Orissa, Mr. Kailasnath Katju.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has agreed to serve as Governor of the United Provinces pending the arrival of Dr. B. C. Roy who is now in the United States.

### GANDHIJI INVITED TO AHMEDABAD

A request to Mahatma Gandhi to return to Ahmedabad, now that his vow of winning Swaraj for the country has been fulfilled, is made by Dr. Hari Prasad Desai, an old associate of Gandhiji.

Dr. Hari Prasad says: "You had promised to return to Satyagrah Ashram after winning Swaraj. Noakhali, Bihar, Delhi and Kashmir might be calling you. But we, the people of Ahmedabad, are also calling you. Even the women of Gujerat are calling you in their songs to return soon after winning Swaraj."

### PANDIT SHUKLA

A purse of Rs. 1,61,500 was presented to Pt. Ravi Shankar Shukla, P.M.A. Minister of the Central Provinces, on the occasion of his 71st Birthday celebration.

Pt. Shukla announced that he had earmarked Rs. 50,000 for the "Memorial to Martyrs" which was being erected at Jubbulpore as Raipur's contribution.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 48.]

OCTOBER 1947

[No. 10.]

## Historical Studies in Independent India\*

By DR. C. C. DAS GUPTA, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. (Cal), Ph.D. (Cantab)

[T has been accepted by all scholars that India is one of the earliest civilised countries in the world. That India was such is known from the study of a number of evidences which we have got of the contemporary civilised world.

India came into close contact with the British from the eighteenth century. From that time there is the beginning of an enquiry into the history of India by a number of well-known British historians and archaeologists. The methods which were then applied for the knowledge of the history of our country were rather quite new even in Europe. Though the Britishers became interested in Indian history and culture, still for want of a proper respect for India because she was conquered, all their studies in this line became vitiated.

Nothing has been until now done for the discovery, preservation and study of Indian historical documents in a truly national scale. The result of this is the common saying that India does not possess much historical material for the reconstruction of her history. There cannot be any statement farther from truth than this. India does not lack historical materials; but what she lacks is the suitable arrangement for the discovery, preservation and study of Indian historical documents.

In the 19th century the Indian Archaeological department was founded and the work done by this department, so far as it goes, is quite laudable; but it is regrettable that it does not go very far. In 1904 Lord Carson passed the Ancient

\*Submitted to Mahatma Gandhi who has taken interest in the scheme.

Monuments Preservation Act for the protection of monuments in British India. This Act is quite praiseworthy but as no work has been practically done to serve the inner meaning of this Act, the very purpose for which this Act was passed is not at all fulfilled. It must be accepted that any historical document, however small and insignificant it might appear to the ordinary eye, is to be very carefully protected. If we accept this view, then we must be awestruck by the appalling neglect of historical documents in India. There are thousands of priceless gems of historical documents which are being so much neglected that we must be ashamed of what we are doing in this sphere.

The following are the suggestions which I should like to offer in this connection:—

(1) The proclamation that all historical monuments, whether small or big, are of utmost national importance.

(2) The proclamation that all manuscripts, big or small, are of utmost national importance.

(3) Endeavour must be made to keep all historical documents in tact. It is a shameless thing that throughout the length and breadth of India we find utter neglect of the priceless gems of Indian monuments and manuscripts.

We should now point out the measures by which this can be done. It is not possible for any national government, however sympathetic it might be, to arrange for the discovery, preservation and study of all the historical documents because of the vastness of the problem. What is essentially required is that the people of

the country should themselves understand the importance of these things. If the general people can understand the value of these things, then they will voluntarily come forward to shoulder their responsibility; but the vast illiteracy of India is standing in the way of this understanding. The literacy of India does not go much beyond 12 per cent of total population and we must be ashamed of this appalling state of education in India. Uptil now there is no general spread of education among the Indian people. On account of the policy of repression followed by the British for a pretty long time education in India could not make much headway. Moreover education which had been imparted to India as yet is not only foreign but also anti-national. Time has certainly come when education should be made indigenous and national. It is absolutely necessary to impart education through the medium of the mother tongue from the lowest to the highest stages, to make one Indian language a compulsory language for study by all and to keep one international language, possibly English, a language for study by only the advanced students and those who will be required to go out of India. With the spread of education every one will gradually realise that it is essential for him to help in the keeping of the historical documents in tact.

The following are the suggestions which I like to throw for the discovery, preservation and study of Indian historical monuments:—

(1) The expansion of the Indian Archaeological department on a truly national basis.

(2) The creation of the Historical and Archaeological societies in each district of India by the national government for the discovery, upkeep and study of Indian historical materials. This is the most important step which the national government should take.

(3) The close co-operation between the Indian universities and the Indian Archaeological department. Uptil now there is absolutely a lack of this important

outlook with the result that the Indian universities have practically no material to work upon while in the Indian Archaeological department there are heaps of material remaining unattended for want of sufficient number of suitable men in the department.

(4) The closer co-operation between the Indian Archaeological department and big colleges in some cultural zones of India where there are no universities. In India there are a very few universities and it is for this reason that some Colleges should be treated as universities for this purpose because the few existing universities of India cannot possibly give an idea of the historical materials which are in each district of India.

(5) The establishment of a large number of research institutes to study these historical materials. India is sadly in want of them and unless these are founded, there is no chance of the proper study of the historical materials of India.

It is well known that from time immemorial India was known to the outside civilised countries, but nothing has as yet been done to study this phenomenon in all details. Uptil now in India the history of other countries has been studied in the most abnormal manner. History of other countries has been studied with the help of only secondary text-books and no attempt has been made to study the history of other countries with the help of original sources. So the study of the history of other countries in India has been uninteresting and unproductive. It is, therefore, necessary to make a thorough revision of the whole syllabus of history as prescribed for study in Indian universities. Secondly, suitable and proper arrangement should be made for the study of the history of other countries in the proper manner with the help of original sources. Thirdly, it is necessary to establish a number of museums of foreign antiquities in India. This can easily be done by purchase as well as by exchange of antiquities which are duplicates. Lastly, it is necessary to send a number of suitable candidates abroad for the proper training in the line,

# A NEW DEFENCE POLICY

BY MR. P. S. NAIR

FOR the last two centuries, India has been depending upon Britain for her defence, although her Military expenditure was exorbitantly high. Her Army was only a part of the British Army of occupation, her Navy and Air Force were negligently small. The people were so much emasculated by the policy of disarmament and systematic suppression of all sorts of resistance that she had nothing to show by way of armament independent of the British. Indian soldiers had won renown in the great wars, but the Nationalists dubbed them as mercenaries. British policy considered India only a Unit in the Imperial defence and the Army was used for the purpose of quelling internal disorders and utilising it in furtherance of her Imperial designs.

Now that Britain has quit India due to compulsion of circumstances, it is high time for the leaders of India to bury deep some of their old ideas of defence and to shape a new policy in consonance with the world situation. India is already divided, so also the armed forces between Pakistan and Indian Union. The separation of Burma did not make any fundamental change in India's defence policy. Similarly even if a portion of India, North and East, secede from the Union, her defence will be exclusively her own concern and it is imperative for her to be prepared before it is too late. Whether the Indian Union remains in the Commonwealth or not, any help from Britain in respect of India's defence or protection is unthinkable. Britain has become so weak economically and militarily that now she neither rules the waves nor her legions control 1/5th of the globe. Her withdrawal from India is more a helpless withdrawal like the withdrawal of the ancient Romans from Britain than a strategic withdrawal in which she has been an expert.

Upto this time, we were constantly hearing of the cry of retrenchment in Military expenditure as one of the plans in

Nationalist opposition to British Imperialism. Now that the oppositionists are going to become the Government, the old cry must be replaced by one of expansion of the Army, Navy and Air Force. India was considered to be so impregnable by the old standard of strategy that one writer called this Sub-Continent *A Great Fortress*. But aeroplanes and atom bombs have revolutionised warfare and no place, however gifted by natural defence, can be considered invulnerable. If Japan could ravage the borders of India after conquering 2000 miles of U. S. A., British, Dutch and French Territories and oceans, is it impossible in the next war for Russia or any other nation to bring the horrors of war into the heart of India after crossing and conquering a few miles of Afghan Territory? The Pakistan scheme will only complicate the situation. The Pathans and Punjabis may prove to be good fighters in infantry, but the financial and economic resources of Pakistan will be so weak that a division of Russian soldiers will be able to conquer it within a few days. Pakistan, I fear, may prove to be the Belgium of the Middle East. The future wars will be more of an industrial and economic nature than even of purely Military. In the push button wars we can visualise, more will depend upon success on industrial and economic mobilisation than on personal gallantry or heroism.

The greatest tragic feature of the Drama of Partition of India is the division of the Army. This is a calamity too deep for tears. I doubt whether there is a parallel to this event in World-history. The Army which helped Britain to win the fairest jewel in the British Crown,—the fighting machine which was best in Asia with the possible exception of Japan and helped Britain to win the World Wars, this was wantonly divided and disintegrated, while the Country looked on helplessly. Although the division of the Army weakened both Pakistan and the Indian Union resulting in the immediate defensive position still more

dangerous, the Indian Union apparently gets 2/3rd of the Army in all its branches, although she is eligible for three-fourths of the whole in view of her size and proportion of her population. This has been sacrificed on the altar of making Pakistan a workable proposition, but I cannot understand on what justification the Indian Union is asked to sacrifice her due share for the execution of a policy which she does not approve. This is nothing but paying a premium on the anti-national policy of the League which is not a good augury for the future. The Congress should take a firmer and stronger stand in the matter of division assets. Those who do not want to be in India can go, but they should not get more than what is their due. Any way this weakening should be made up by an increased attention on our defences by reserving a part of our Sterling balances to make up the deficiency. India has definitely entered the arena of power politics and there is no use ignoring the realities facing us.

The possibility of Pakistan allying with the Arab League for defence cannot be ruled out. In fact that will be the logical outcome of the two Nations theory of Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah's refusal to have one Governor-General confirms this suspicion. How the advanced states of Punjab, Sind and North Western Frontier can ally with the backward countries in the Middle East simply because they are Muslims and to feel at home will have to be seen. If this happens the Middle East countries will turn into a replica of South American States with the controlling influence of Russia in the place of U. S. S. Anyhow, the future of Pakistan does not seem to be as rosy as its protagonists dream, if they have no idea of swallowing the whole of India through intrigue. The leaders of India should be careful that they are not caught napping. The Muslim National Guards is becoming stronger and stronger day by day and this menace cannot be ignored.

Anyhow, India will have to maintain a ring of Military fortification from Kutch to

the Himalayas and the strength of this Army will have to be greater due to the loss of India's Scientific Frontier and control of the Khyber. Similarly in the Eastern Frontier, we will have to maintain a Military alliance with Burma and the other countries of the Far East by passing, if necessary, the Eastern Pakistan.

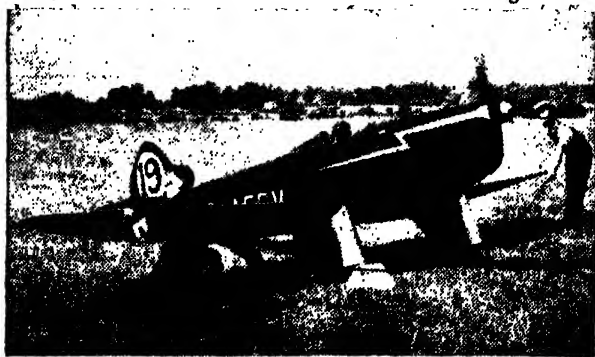
India's oceanic defence will loom large in the future as it was through the ocean that her recent conquerors reached the country. The hopeless and helpless condition of India's Navy calls for urgent attention. If the invaders get a foothold on Indian soil without opposition, no Army, however strong it may be, will be able to drive them away easily. The Europeans were able to conquer India easily because they succeeded in getting foot-holds in India as trading stations before embarking upon their career of expansion.

If Britain with her insular position was practically bombed to partial destruction through sheer strength of air power, what would be India's fate in the further wars beggars description. Neither the Himalayas nor the Seas will be a barrier to this most destructive of weapons. Hence the immediate problem of India to be tackled on the dawn of independence is the expansion of her fighting arms. Have the leaders of India thought over it? Have they arrived at any conclusion? The public should be taken into confidence regarding this matter of life and death. The principle of non-violence on which our struggle for freedom was based has no application so far as our defence policy is concerned. A State is based on Force and once it is withdrawn the State will disintegrate due to internal disorder or external pressure. No State can exist without police or Military Forces and India is no exception, but India will not and shall not have any design against her neighbours. India's great leaders like Sri Ramachandra, Chandragupta Vikramaditya, Asoka, Krishna Devaraya, Akbar and Shivaji waged wars only for bringing India "Under one Umbrella" and did not

cherish any design against the freedom of the neighbours. India's past had been a striking example of honest intentions meeting with underserving treatment. Nobody wants that India's past should be forgotten, but no nation can live under high ideals of spirituality alone. Even spirit cannot thrive in slavery. Therefore no idea of non-violence should stand in the way of India preserving herself with sufficient Military strength against invaders either from the North or from the Ocean. The recent spectacle of a part of India separated and the country mutilated at the sight of three hundred Millions show how helpless we are in spite of our numerical majority in the face of a strong and organised physical strength. The success of Pakistan movement should open the eyes of all Indians to perceive the glaring fact that high ideals will not have much value without material strength to back them up. That Sardar Baldev Singh, our Defence Member, had advocated in a recent statement a programme of Military training for the youths of the country to counteract the inferiority complex is encouraging and augurs well for our National existence. A new, vigorous, youthful spirit should be

inculcated in the Nation without which no nation can survive the struggle for existence. If our youths cannot withstand the hooligans and Goondas as revealed in the recent riots, how can they fight their tougher enemies? A sturdy race can build up only with a little of that Spartan discipline and organisation. A programme of mass physical education and Military training can bring about this desired result in our National character. The work of Babu Purushotham Das Tandon in North India and Sri Prakasam in Madras, deserve active encouragement and support in the public. Congressmen in particular would do well to concentrate on this question instead of wasting their energy in pelting stones at each other in the rivalry of Ministry making and faction warfare.

When moulding a new defence policy the necessity of a strong Central Government capable of mobilising our resources in cases of emergency cannot be over emphasised. Mir Jaffars and Jayachands will not be found wanting in the future India as they were plenty in the past. We should be on guard against such fifth columnists.



#### SMALLEST PLANE IN ENGLAND

The smallest plane in England, a Chilton, on show at the Southend Air Display and Race recently held at the Southend-on-Sea Municipal Aerodrome.



# SOVEREIGNTY TO-DAY

By RUSSI LALA

THE British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Ernest Bevin, in his recent address to the Transport and General Workers' Union said that the world needed to learn the desirability of surrendering sovereignty in favour of a "great sovereignty." Mr. Bevin went on to recall that the Transport and General Workers' Union was formed through the merger of many smaller Unions. He added: "They surrendered their sovereignty for a greater sovereignty. That is the lesson that needs learning in the world of today."

Mr. Bevin, after two years as Foreign Secretary has come to realise that what really hinders the march to peace is not a single nation like Russia, but an outdated idea—the idea of absolute national sovereignty.

This idea of sovereignty is a medieval concept first expressed by the French writer Bodin in the seventeenth century. Europe, disorganised after the feudal ages, needed law and order. A strong Central power was alone capable of creating order out of chaos. The power of the government passed through different stages of despotism, enlightened despotism, Napoleonic despotism, and after that, colonial despotism. Today we live in the midst of National despotism.

Each nation believes that whatever suits its narrow interests should suit the interests of every other nation. If it does not that nation is its enemy. This leads to wars.

The only modern contribution of sovereignty is that it inspired subject nations to assert their independence. Today, independence has been recognised as a human right. The best proof of this recognition is the Indian Independence Act. Now, the mission of the sovereign nation state is over. If it persists in our midst any longer, the results may be very disastrous. For at present, in a small world, there are about seventy separate

sources of law—seventy separate and often conflicting sovereignties.

The more powerful the nation, the more will it adhere to its sovereignty. But even these powerful states are unable to prevent the outbreak of a world war. In spite of holding to their sovereignty, they have to pay with the lives of their citizens and large public debts. A sovereign U S A could not prevent a sovereign Japan from attacking, but is just a shuttlecock in the hands of an international law-breaker. Politically therefore, national sovereignty is an illusion.

In all ages, whether among tribes or cities or religions or nations or 'blocs', war has been the result of contact between non-integrated sovereign units. Whenever a part of their sovereignty was transferred to a higher power, like the Crown in the case of Indian states, these wars ceased. No treaties have ever prevented wars. More often they have been made an excuse for it. But, whenever law has been introduced, wars cease. The problem of peace is the problem of sovereignty. Historically therefore, national sovereignty is the cause of all wars.

In spite of the outdated idea of national sovereignty, every political manifestation of the Second World War like the Atlantic Charter and the San Francisco Charter applauded the idea of national sovereignty. The reason is that President Roosevelt was aware that the U S. Senate would not ratify any transfer of American sovereignty to a world organisation. Hence, the constant introduction of the clause of national sovereignty. The young and powerful Soviet Union eagerly grasped this clause. At their insistence was introduced the Veto. The United Nations Charter declares in Article Two: The organisation is based on the principle of *sovereign* equality of all its members.

In the last couple of years, a reaction has set in about sovereignty. The reaction was first presented in writing by

Emery Reeves in his epoch-making book "The Anatomy of Peace." After a vigorous attack on the sovereign nation state, the author calls for a World Government as the first step to peace.

Amongst the foremost statesmen of the world to scent the danger of unlimited sovereignty was Mr. Antony Eden, the former British Foreign Secretary. In the Foreign affairs debate of the House of Commons in November 1945, he warned "I have been unable to see any solution which will make the world safe from atomic power save that we all *abate our present ideas of sovereignty*"

Within two years of this warning, the Emergency Committee of Atomic Energy Scientists under the chairmanship of Dr. Einstein declared the failure of the United Nations to plan for atomic control. The statement said: "Once stock piles of atom bombs have been accumulated by two *national blocs* of a divided world, it will be no longer possible to maintain peace." Like Mr. Reeves the scientists felt that the only alternative to another war is the creation of the World Government to enforce peace

Among the other statesmen may be included Mr. Mackenzie King who, speaking in December 1945, urged every country to recognise that "above all nations is humanity." He called for an effective *world sovereignty*. Mr. Bevin has expressed his opinion that a World Assembly be created, elected directly from the people of the world and to whom the United Nations Governments will be responsible. Mr. Reeves suggests a universal legislature, a universal executive and a universal judiciary along with our present national legislature, executive and judiciary.

In practice however, the transfer of sovereignty will mainly concern the Big Five. Britain has been more than agreeable to this idea. China through its spokesman Mr. T. V. Soong has agreed to yield, if necessary, a part of her sovereignty to the United Nations, "in the interest

of collective Security." France may follow the line taken by Britain and China. The strongest opposition to the transfer of sovereignty will come from the two most powerful nations, the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. These two have reached the pinnacle of their power and their politicians believe that any transfer of sovereignty will mean an end of their present leading role in world affairs.

The U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. may well cherish their national sovereignty in this world of power politics, but when total war is the price of total sovereignty, the price is too high

If these two mighty nations willingly yield a part of their sovereignty to a higher organisation like the United Nations, the United Nations can be greatly strengthened. Moreover, the world will be saved from the crushing burden of armaments and all the people of the world can live without fear of an impending war.

## REMEMBRANCE

BY MR V DHURANDHAR

Mem'ries like hazy waking dream

Float in the misty horizon

Of my heart. Light and shadows team

In fleeting order, while the one

Beloved form sways midst the stream

Of Remembrance like a forlorn, sweet

Apparition With tearful gleam,

Those weary wistful eyes replete

With anguish of unrealised Hope,

Gaze the Ocean of Life between

Us from another shore where grope

The Dead in quest of Love, unseen,

# WHITHER TEXTILE PRODUCTION?

BY MR. RAMCHANDRA SHARMA, M.A.

WITH the end of war the consumers expected a rise in textile production for their consumption, but their hopes have been belied in the absence of any set post-war plans. Not to speak of an increase in the cloth quota, the fear of a reduction in the existing quota has but proved a blatant reality.

On the eve of World War II, almost the entire demand (4,500 millions yards) of the home market was being met by the Indian textile industry. During the war, due to non-availability of adequate amount of cloth for civil consumption, the consumers were put to considerable privations and hardships. Even in the Post-war period textile production continues to decline. From 4,688 million yards in 1945, our textile production declined to 4,082 million yards in 1946—a fall of 13 per cent.—thereby reducing the per capita quota to 9 yards only. The decline in handloom cloth output, too, has been estimated at 350 million yards. Import of foreign cloth is also negligible at present, while the near future does not encourage optimism. For 1947, it is estimated that about 15 million yards of English cloth will be imported, whereas the pre-war import was in the vicinity of 750 million yards. Besides, in order to save the teeming millions from starvation and death, India has been and will be exporting cloth to foreigners specially Argentine, Burma, Ceylon, Java, Australia, and South-East Asiatic countries. In 1946, the "distress" cloth thus imported came to 400 million yards. Thus, India's textile production has fallen, her cloth exports have increased, while her imports have been almost negligible.

Many factors have contributed to the fall in home production of cloth. Firstly, in the post-war years, labour unrest has been increasing in geometrical progression: strikes and hartals have been the scourge of the day. This is so partly because industrial wages have not kept a measured

pace with the cost of living, which continues to swell unabated, thus denying even the pre-war standard of living to the labourers, and partly because the reins of administration being taken up by popular ministries whose sympathies are pronouncedly pro-labour; partly because of the employers' tendency to reduction in labour-force and their wages, and partly because of the pro-labour flow of public opinion.

Production has also suffered on account of an increased frequency of communal riots which seem to have received a further stimulus since the Partition of the country.

Besides, labour absenteeism is also on the increase in all industries. In textile industry, absenteeism has gone up from 10.5 per cent. in 1939 to 17.55 per cent. in 1946 in Bombay; from 3.3 per cent. to 8.06 per cent. in Ahmedabad; from 10.77 per cent. to 23.51 per cent. in Sholapur; and from 4.33 per cent. (1943) to 7.16 per cent. in Cawnpore. "Higher absenteeism means more work for supervisors, more damage to product and machine, more wastage of raw materials, more accidents, more work in the time-keeping and wage payment departments, and more alterations in factory records, discontentment among conscientious and regular workers", and a consequent fall in industrial production. The greatest factor at the root of labour absenteeism was the bad effect of war on industrial health—sickness born out of malnutrition, neglect of welfare activities, longer hours of work, overtime engagement, housing congestion and insanitary conditions. Other factors responsible for it were the psychology of the new entrants who were unaccustomed to industrial work, and the migratory character of Indian labour.

Further, the introduction of a 48 hours week instead of 54 hours week since 1st August 1946, has aggravated the malady. It is estimated to have led to a 12½ per cent. fall in cloth production,

since there has been no parallel increase in efficiency. The wage-level has been stationary, hence we have a higher cost of production, and consequent thinner profits. Again, a mere wage increase or a reduced number of working hours, unaccompanied by increased productivity merely serves to set in motion, indeed to accentuate, the dreadfully familiar inflationary spiral.

The demon of non-co-operation is still another stumbling block to textile production. The Trade Unions and labourers have not been whole-heartedly co-operating with the producers in order to continue the three-shift system in textile mills. The employers themselves seem to be unwilling to encourage three shifts, perhaps, due to scarcity of skilled labour and absence of huge profits incentive.

Coal shortage renders the matter worse confounded. Many mills had to be temporarily closed down due to coal shortage while others did not work to the fullest capacity. India's industrial requirements come to about 35 million tons of coal while the present output is only 29 million tons. In July and August, 1946, there was a 12.5 per cent. fall in the average despatch of coal per mensem as compared with 1945.

Again, there has been an abnormal wear and tear and depreciation of machinery and plants due to war over-work thereby making replacement an immediate necessity. But due to non-availability of machinery and foreign exchange, it is not so easy at present.

Lastly, production has fallen on account of a slender profit margin. There has been a continuous rise in the wage-level and the raw materials index number, while the number of working hours has increased without any parallel rise in efficiency. All this has led to higher cost of production, whereas, great considerations for the consumers' interests have compelled the government not to budge an inch from the November, 1945 level of controlled cloth prices. A consequent fall in profits has brought the industrial activity at a

very low ebb; most of the mills have been working below capacity, while others have actually stopped production. Mills producing coarse yarn and cloth have suffered more on this account.

The distribution machinery has further worsened the cloth situation. It appears that the history of cloth control has been one of increasing failure to deliver the goods except to the black-market operators' godown. There has been no correspondence between a person's income and habit of consumption and the kind of cloth allotted to him. Thus, on the whole, rationing of cloth has been no success.

#### THE WAY OUT

The way out of the tangle is not so easy as the arm-chair thinkers might think. What is needed is not only a social and economic reconstruction, but a complete mental and moral overhaul, too. Individual efforts are always futile. It is only a co-operative spirit on the part of the consumers and producers, the labourers and the capitalists and the government and people alike that can better the situation. The mill owners should do their best to work their mills at the maximum capacity. In the wider interest of the nation they may rest content with leaner profits for the time being, and thus relieve that poor consumer, who ever since the break-out of hostilities, has been groaning under the burden of scarcity. At the same time they should not neglect the claims of the labourers, who may be allowed to 'live' and not only to 'exist'.

The labour force and Trade Union leaders should also not fail to rise to the occasion; without their co-operation it is not possible to reintroduce the three-shift system and the 54 hours week for a short-term period. 'The haves-nots' should abandon their hostile attitude towards the 'haves' and thus help the country sail smoothly over troubled waters.

The responsibility of the government is the greatest. It has to do its best to create and further harmonious employer-employee relations. The government should

have a control over the supply of raw cotton, which may be sold to the mill at controlled prices. The appointment of a Commodity Prices Board to fix fair and reasonable prices of yarn and cloth of all kinds is a welcome move in this direction. Immediate steps should be taken to reintroduce the three-shifts system and the 54 hours week. No doubt, this question has already been referred to the Labour Conference and its Standing Labour Committee, but looking to the gravity of the situation a quicker decision is required. At the same time, plant and machinery should be purchased from foreigners at the earliest stage. The situation will ease to some extent by the encouragement of hand spinning and handlooms, but a retrograde policy like that of the Prakasam government in Madras, which, it appeared, intended to liquidate large-scale textile production just to encourage 'Khaddar,' would be like killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. Cottage industries may be used only to supplement but not to supplant large scale industries. Side by side, the resources of foreign cloth, especially Japan, should also be tackled. As regards cloth control, it would be

better if the government could overhaul the system and thus remove its bottlenecks, rather than depict a defeatist tendency by a move to de-control when the supply of cloth is not sufficient to meet the present demand.

Looking at the situation from a long period angle of vision we can say that only planning on sound and systematic lines can help us. A rapid industrialisation of the country is the urgent need of the hour, if India no longer wants to remain the Cinderella of the civilized world. In the earlier stages capital goods and production units should be imported from abroad, while the quickest steps must be taken to establish the textile manufacturing industry in India itself. A greater number of engineers and technicians should also receive training abroad. The central Government's scheme of adding up 125 new textile mills to the existing 417 mills is a wise step.

The political situation in the country is no doubt discouraging to any constructive scheme, but bold government policy, aided by the active co-operation of the producers and the consumers, will not fail to ease the situation at an early date.

## NEHRU'S LATEST

BY MR. K. BALASUBRAMANIA AYYAR

**L**ORD Mountbatten spoke, of Pandit Nehru as a world-renowned figure of courage and vision. Undoubtedly, he is the authentic voice of India now. The history of the struggle for Indian freedom in recent times is, largely, his own life-history. In the course of this struggle, he was imprisoned nine times. It is remarkable how he made the prison yield the maximum good. 'The Discovery of India' was born in the Ahmednagar Prison. So were 'The Glimpses of World History' and 'The Autobiography' also. It is there, he says, that he had leisure; there

was no sense of hurry or of completing a task within an allotted period of time. 'It gave him, therefore, opportunity to let his mind wander or take root for a while, keeping in tune with his mood, allowing impressions to sink in and fill the dry bones of the past with flesh and blood.' Even at the time of the publication of the book in 1945 Pandit Nehru felt that some parts of it were already somewhat out of date and that much had happened since he wrote it. Much more so now, many parts of the book will have become out of date and may have to be re-written. But he says he resisted the temptation to revise it. Nevertheless, as the product of the

\* THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA. By Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Published by Signet Press, Calcutta.

robust and virile thinking of an original mind, the book will be found to be fascinating and profitable reading. In fact, it may be said without exaggeration that it is one of the greatest books of this age written by one of the makers of New India.

'The Discovery of India' is also the author's adventure to discover himself. In the epilogue to the book he asks with a certain touch of sadness "The Discovery of India", "what have I discovered"? "It was presumptuous of me to imagine that I could unveil her and find out what she is to-day and what she was in the long past. About her there is the elusive quality of a legend of long age; some enchantment seems to have held her mind. But she is very lovable and none of her children can forget her, wherever they go or whatever strange fate befalls them". In this fascinating book, we are led through swiftly moving perspectives of Indian history and before our mind's eye there unrolls the glorious vision of a series of scenes of the long panorama of India's past. We have, gathered together here, beautiful autobiographical touches, colourful reminiscences, pregnant observations, weighty reflections, and fine phrases that will stick to the memory, apt quotations and poetic descriptions of great men and great events. In places, we are led into the secret of the inner workings of a massive mind that has launched forth into the quest for truth and spirituality. All through the work, however, there runs the emotion of intense love and devotion to our motherland, aglow with a deep sense of her high spiritual values and her great undying culture.

We find here an amazing wealth of facts and information culled from various sources interspersed with reflection on their significance. In short, the book is fascinating reading. Once you take it on hand, you cannot lay it down until you have finished. Even afterwards you will be tempted to come to it again and again,

to ponder over the beautiful sentences, quotations and phrases scattered throughout the pages. In fact, this is the real test of a great book from the pen of a great author.

The work is fittingly dedicated to his 'colleagues and co-prisoners in the Ahmednagar Fort prison-camp.' Most of us are generally acquainted with Pandit Nehru's views on political questions and with his ideals of a socialistic state with economic equality and freedom. But we will be eager to know his attitude towards life, religion and philosophy. In the Chapters on 'Life and Philosophy' and on 'Religion, Philosophy and Science' he says: 'My early approach to life's problems had been more or less scientific, with something of the easy optimism of the science of the nineteenth and early twentieth century'. Yet he felt that religion supplied some deeply-felt inner need of human nature, though religion, as he saw it practised, did not attract him. He owns that Metaphysics and Philosophy have a greater appeal to his mind. But he frankly states that he is interested in this life, not in some other world of future life. He says: "Intellectually, I can appreciate, to some extent, the conception of monism and I have been attracted towards the Advaita Philosophy of the Vedanta, though I did not understand it in all its depth and intricacy. I realize that merely an intellectual appreciation of such matters does not carry one far". Some kind of ethical approach to life had a strong appeal for him. He says: 'I have been attracted by Gandhiji's stress on right means and I think one of his greatest contributions to our public life has been this emphasis. He admits that he had always hesitated to read books on religion, but he feels that ignorance of them is often a severe drawback. He says: "The sheer beauty of some passages would hold me. A phrase or a sentence would suddenly leap up and electrify and make me feel the presence of really the great." "There was a compelling reality about

them, a permanence, which time and space could not touch." He further observes: 'I find myself incapable of thinking of a deity or of any unknown supreme power in anthropomorphic terms.' But he feels it is impossible not to believe in something whether we call it a creative life-giving force, or vital energy inherent in matter which gives it its capacity for self-movement and change and growth or by some other means; something that is as real as life is real when contrasted with death. In fact, he says with Voltaire, 'Even if God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent Him'. He concludes by saying 'Whatever gods there be, there is something godlike in man.'

According to him the central idea of ancient Indian civilisation was that of Dharma which was something more than religion or creed. It was a conception of obligations, of the discharge of one's duties to oneself and to others. Rights as such were not emphasised. It stands out in marked contrast with the modern assertion of rights of individuals, of groups and of nations. Writing about the Upanishads, he says: "They are instinct with a spirit of enquiry, of mental adventure: of a passion for finding out the truth about things. I like the vigour of the thought in questioning, the rationalistic background".

About our national epics, the Ramayana and Mahabharata, he observes that they are still a living force in the life of our people and they represent the typical Indian method of catering all together for various degrees of cultural development from the highest individual to the simple, un-read and un-taught villager. He says: "The Mahabharata is one of the outstanding books of the world. It is a colossal work, an encyclopaedia of legend and religion, of political and social institutions of ancient India." Of the Gita he truly remarks as follows: "The message of the Gita is not sectarian or addressed to any particular school of thought." "During the 2500 years since it was written, Indian

humanity always found something living in the Gita, something that fitted into its developing thought and had a freshness and applicability to the spiritual problems that afflict the mind".

In this work Pandit Nehru gives a splendid analysis of the effects of British rule upon India and its social and economic structure and a revealing account of the genesis and growth of the freedom movement in India. He rightly observes that the establishment of British rule in India was an entirely novel phenomenon for her, not comparable with any other invasion or political or economic change. India became for the first time an appendage of another country and now racialism became the acknowledged creed. The self-sufficient village community of the old was entirely disintegrated and the destruction of village industries was a powerful blow to these communities. The balance between industry and agriculture was upset. The landlord system was newly introduced which struck at the whole Indian conception of a co-operative group of social structure. The big land owners or farmers of revenue were created and British rule consolidated itself by establishing new classes and vested interests, who were tied up with that rule, and one of the major problems in India *vis.*, that of the Princes or of the Indian States was also created. Thus, there were three basic vested interests created and encouraged by British rule *vis.*, the Princes, the big landlords and the Indian Members of the Services.

Writing eloquently about the advent of the Gandhian era he says: "And then Gandhi came. He was like a powerful current of fresh air that made us stretch ourselves and take deep breath; like a beam of light that pierced the darkness and removed the scales from our eyes; like a whirlwind that upset many things, most of all the working of people's minds. Political freedom took new shape then and acquired a new content. The essence of his teaching was fearlessness and truth and

action allied to these, always keeping the welfare of the masses in view." Gandhi influenced millions of people in India in varying degrees. Some changed the whole texture of their lives; others were only partly affected.

Pandit Nehru truly observes that the Indian habit of mind is essentially one of quietism. A long tradition of philosophy also leads to it and yet Gandhi, a typical product of India, represents the very antithesis of quietism. He has been a demon of energy and action, a hustler, and a man who not only drives himself, but drives others. In fact, the Congress was and is dominated by him.

The present age is, according to him, the age of the Atom Bomb. The highest ideals of the age may be classed under two heads, humanism and the scientific spirit. He fears that in India there are alternating tendencies for self-glorification and self-pity. Both are undesirable and ignoble. We

cannot lose ourselves in aimless and romantic quests, unconnected with life's problems. Nor can we concern ourselves with externals only, forgetting the significance of the inner life of man. In our individual lives we have to discover a balance between the body and the spirit and between man as a part of nature and man as a part of society. The great Chinese philosopher, Lao'tze says: "Often-times one stripes oneself of passion, in order to see the secrets of life; often-times one regards life with passion, in order to see its manifold results". This is also the meaning of the two-fold division of Dharma, into Pravritti and Nivritti, enjoined on us by our ancient rishis.

In the successful way in which we solve this will depend the realisation of the fruits of the freedom which we have won. The 'Discovery of India' is a great book. Everyone ought to read it and should be proud to possess a copy of it.

## THE EMERGING AMERICA

BY MR LAWRENCE C BURR

IN an effort to understand the direction in which the people of the United States are moving today, it is valuable to examine the history of the nation at four significant points; (1) The Revolutionary War, 1775—1781; (2) The Civil War, 1861—1865, (3) World War I, 1914—1918; (4) the period following World War II. These periods are chosen, not that the progress of the nation is to be measured in terms of the number of wars fought, but rather the aspirations to be free come to focus more sharply here and reflect the role of the United States in the eternal struggle for universal human freedom. Each of these periods made its own contribution to the achievement of an increased degree of liberty for more and more Americans.

### THE FIRST PERIOD

The agitation that eventually culminated in the Revolutionary War was the desire of

the colonists to effect a reduction in the taxes imposed by England in various forms. These taxes and other forms of economic restrictions resulted from (a) the Navigation Acts of 1660, 1673, and 1696; (b) the Stamp Act of 1765, (c) the Townshend Acts of 1767, (d) the Tea Tax. Up to 1775 the immediate concern of the colonists was economic. However, at this point they realised that relief from these measures could not be obtained in a system of mercantilism or imperialism, consequently, the emphasis shifted from their immediate goal to a concern for political independence. Fleeing from the spectre of persecution in Europe, especially at the point of religious worship and expression, the colonists were not conscious of the fact that individual freedom was inherent in their fight. Even though the price of freedom was exceedingly high in human deprivations, even to the point of life itself, this victory is the cornerstone of the



way of life America has come to value so highly down through the years. The American Declaration of Independence announced the intentions of these early Americans to be free citizens in a nation which was also free and sovereign. Popular government is the important concern of the declaration. It establishes individual political rights based on political freedom and political equality. But it must be remembered that freedom and equality for the slaves was not implied nor was any reference made to the social and industrial ills of the nation. At these points independence and freedom were inchoate, leading to the renewal of this struggle in the Civil War. The Declaration of Independence is based on the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, an outstanding American statesman and later President of the United States for two terms, and John Locke, an eminent English philosopher.

#### THE SECOND PERIOD

The Emancipation Proclamation of the Civil War extended these same rights to American Negroes by lifting them from the level of chattel slaves to the status of citizens in a theoretical sense. The acceptance of all Americans as equal citizens did not come automatically; it only marked the beginning of a process that is still under way at a rate much slower than many desire. However, with this much achieved, America was prepared to move ahead in the area of human relations. In passing it might be pointed out that the political, social and economic issues involved in this internal conflict were much broader than the efforts of the eleven states to secede from the Union imply.

#### THE THIRD PERIOD

The events of this period really began at the turn of the century when the United States launched a campaign of hemispheric imperialism directed against the islands and nations to the south of the States. This move was viewed with great alarm by the nations of both Latin and South America because of the political and military implications. It became necessary for the United States to study its foreign policy at the point

of American relations and re-orient these relations in terms of the principle of self-determination for all nations in the Western hemisphere. As time passed this re-orientation was achieved through the development of the "Good Neighbor" Policy advocated by a recent Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, and supported wholeheartedly by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. With this problem being settled Germany challenged the right of individual freedom and the sovereignty of certain European nations by seeking to determine and control the political and economic politics of continental Europe based on an undesirable form of collectivism. As a result of this effort on the part of Germany, coupled with the political, social and economic ills of Europe, a struggle for world domination broke out. It can be safely stated that the United States entered World War I to defend the principle of national sovereignty for both large and small nations. Certain economic considerations were related to each country's participation, not only in World War I, but in all other armed conflicts. The validity of these considerations were related to each country's participation, not only in World War I, but in all other armed conflicts. The validity of these considerations is not a point to be discussed here. At the end of the war Woodrow Wilson, wartime President of the United States, offered fourteen points on which a tribunal of international government could be built and because these were rejected, the United States withdrew from world affairs and shut itself off from the evils of Europe by high tariffs and other forms of economic isolation.

#### THE FOURTH PERIOD

During the interval between the two world wars, we learned that no nation, regardless to the degree of self-sufficiency, could survive outside the family of free nations. This lesson has been a costly one and now we have come to accept the principle of a world community and are seeking security through international co-operation. In spite

of the ideological differences among the government it is this realization that motivates the life of our nation today. With certain qualifications America is prepared to try to establish peace again in the world to-day. The America that we are building to-day is based on first class citizenship for each of its citizens without respect for race, creed, class, and other considerations; a fuller and richer life for all through industrial co-operation and expansion; the continued practice of freedom in worship, expression and thought; an education that will equip each person to make his contribution to our way of life; a society in which our relations are ordered by a belief in the efficiency of spiritual values. Internationally we seek to relate ourselves to other nations on the basis of national sovereignty without that sovereignty being

used to persecute sections of the population for selfish reasons; the freedom of all nations of colonial peoples who should be self-governing; the principle of international co-operation for collective security without regard for ideological differences; the integration of the world's material and human resources in promoting a higher standard of living throughout the world; implementing the brotherhood of man through association and the free exchange of news and ideas *via* the radio, the press, and other media; the progressive abolition of illiteracy in national populations. These ideals are not shared among the total population as goals to be achieved; but the evidence of their acceptance is increasing to the point that they might represent the highest aspirations of the emerging America.

## THE EASTERN STATES FEDERAL UNION

BY PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt., M.L.A. (Patna State)

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**A** MIDST the spectacular and dramatic changes that are taking place on the political map of India, an average Indian finds it difficult to bestow any attention on the minor happenings in the hitherto unknown regions of this country. Perhaps the average reader would be surprised to know that a new experiment at constitutional development is being attempted and thirty-nine Independent Rulers of the Eastern States Agency are now forming a Federal Union of all their States by surrendering a part of their 'sovereignty' unto themselves.

A little background would be useful. What used to be called Eastern States Agency till yesterday consisted of 42 States under one Resident living at Calcutta, divided into three Agencies called the Bengal, Orissa and Chhattisgarh Agencies. With the lapse of Paramountcy these States till now under one residency would become independent. Now none of these

States is big enough taking either area or revenue into consideration, though some of the States like Mayurbhanj and Patna are progressive and advanced both economically and culturally. Meanwhile pressing problems arose with the declaration of H.M.G. that they would 'quit' India by August 15th; and something should be done by these States to cope with the new situation. It is for this reason and for the underlying desire that the close association artificially brought about by the British by grouping all these States under one Residency should be continued in one form or the other that these 39 States have now decided to join together in close association under a Federal Union. Look at the reasons given by the Maharaja of Patna, a leading figure among the Rulers of Eastern States Agency. He says: "The Eastern States have been steadily preparing themselves for the coming changes and have declared

in unequivocal terms their earnest desire of forming a Federal Union, in order to fit in with the All-India Constitutional set-up. It goes without saying that a Union of the States of this Agency is absolutely necessary not only to overcome the intrinsic disadvantages of small units, but also in order to undertake the newer and graver responsibilities that will assuredly devolve on the States with the reversion of Paramountcy". The three States that are not joining belong to the Bengal Agency.

The 39 States belonging to the Orissa and Chhatisgarh Agencies between them cover a total area that is equal to that of Bihar and have a population almost equal to that of Orissa. Of these the State of Keonjhar is the biggest in area while Patna is the most industrialised and has the largest revenue. Though nominally under the autocratic rule of a Ruler, many of the leading States like Patna, Kalahandi, Bandh etc., have already got Legislative Assemblies and elected Ministers. These States are richest in India in their natural resources, specially in their forest and mineral wealth. The graphite deposits of Patna State and the Bauxite mines of Kalahandi are the richest in India, while the only copper belt of India passes through the Serikella State, another member of this proposed Union whose illustrious Ruler has played a magnificent part in bringing about the present constitutional set-up. It is the Eastern States Agency that has all the time been supplying iron ore and coal to the Tatas; while there are very fine waterfalls which can be harnessed for supplying cheap power. The Mahanadi, the biggest river of the Deccan with its serpent-like movement passes through many of the States and the proposed damming of the river at Hirakud benefits these States as much as Orissa. Thus Nature has bestowed her natural resources in plenty on this yet neglected part of India and the proposed Constitution should be judged mainly from this point of view—to what extent it helps to exploit the natural

resources to the fullest extent for the benefit of the Common man.

The principal authorities of the proposed Union are, (i) A Council of Rulers, (ii) a Board of Rulers consisting of a President, Vice-President and seven Members, (iii) a Council of Ministers (iv) a Bicameral Legislature and a High Court. The Constitution Act provides for each Ruler to accede to the Union by signing an Instrument of Accession. Once joined, no Ruler *ie.*, member State can secede from the Union—within a period of ten years. A Press note says that the present Constitution Act would be submitted to the first Legislative Assembly to be set up under this Act, to examine and amend, as it is pleased, according to the procedure laid down.

A few more details of the Constitution Act. The Executive Authority of the Union is vested in a Board of Rulers consisting of a President and Vice-President and seven members, the Board itself being elected by the Rulers arranged in certain electoral College for this purpose. There is a Council of Ministers "to aid and advise the Board and the President in the exercise of their functions". The actual mode of selecting the Ministers is not stated but a newspaper report says that one of the four Ministers would be a non-official representative of the people. The precise functions of the Council of Rulers are not known and it is difficult to visualise the exact scope in terms of the present constitutional systems at present in existence. The actual executive authority itself is vested in a number of bodies, the Council of Ministers, the President (who presides over the meeting of the Board of Rulers and can preside, if he chooses, over the meetings of the Council of Ministers), the Board of Rulers, and the Council of Rulers. The respective functions of these bodies are not well-defined and it is difficult to say which body exactly corresponds to what we call a "Cabinet" and what exactly the relations of these bodies are to each other. After all, even

in the best of constitutions, it is the actual working that has to say the last word and we can only imagine certain possibilities. My own forecast is that till full responsible government is established the Union is pledged to the goal of responsible government one day—the actual functions of a modern 'Cabinet' would devolve on the Board of Rulers with the Ministers, corresponding to departmental Secretaries and the Council of Rulers corresponding to the functions now being carried out by the party executives. One interesting point in the Act is that while the Ministers are responsible to the President and the members of the Board of Rulers, the ultimate 'Executive Authority' of the Union, are 'responsible' to none at all; probably they are answerable to the Council of Rulers but there is no provision in the Act for a 'vote of no-confidence' or 'recall' of the members of the Board, so that even in case the Council of Rulers want to influence or guide the Board, there is no constitutional provision for discharging that function. In course of time, the Council of Rulers would become ornamental only and absolutely functionless, whatever may be the original intentions of the authors may be.

The Act provides for a bicameral legislature on the American model. The upper house called the Senate gives equal representation to all the member States, each State nominating one member. In all there will be 65 members including ministers and experts, all nominated. The lower house called the Legislative Assembly has got 120 members, all elected by the people of the States on a population basis. Both the Houses have equal powers, except that finance bills could emanate only in the Assembly; in case of disagreement, there is provision for a joint sitting of both the Houses.

The Legislative list of the Union covers 53 items and includes such subjects as Electricity, Factories, Trade Unions, Major Rivers etc. and, though the list is not by itself unrestrictive, yet ample scope is left

for the individual States to develop their conveniences and financial condition.

The Act provides for a High Court that is the highest Civil and Criminal Court of appeal and at the same time it has got the right to interpret the Act. The Judges of the High Court are appointed by the Board and can be removed by the Board for bad behaviour on the recommendations of the Committee to be appointed by him. Nowhere it is stated as to who should first move in the matter. The corresponding provision in England and in the new constitution of India is that the Judges are removed by the King on a prayer from the Legislature. Such a provision would better be included in this Act, as otherwise the Judges cannot be expected to be impartial in case of disputes between big and small member-States.

One of the important provisions of the Act is that it insists on the Member-States to guarantee certain fundamental rights and civil liberties to the people and also set up "a representative form of the government best suited to the conditions of the States". Another important provision relates to the right of the Union to interfere and even to remove a Ruler in cases of misrule etc.

The Union has no power of taxation, its finances being raised by contributions from member States. However, the Union has got the power to borrow both internally and externally. It can also make loans to Member-States.

Thus a new constitution has come into existence—a new Union that will take its legitimate place on the political map of India and will play its proud part. Critics are not wanting who say that the Union Constitution does not go far and does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people. But they have to realise the peculiar conditions prevailing in these parts, the level of education and the lack of tradition for a full democratic form of government. Moreover the Union had to be brought into existence in a hurry.

There was not much time for deliberation. As the Press Note issued by the Chairman of the Council of Rulers says, "while full responsible government remains the goal of the Union, the great rapidity with which the political situation in India is now changing, . . . ." compelled the authorities to prepare this scheme in a hurry. Again the scheme contains germs of full responsible government and can easily be adapted to suit the purpose. Thus, the Act says nothing about the mode of selecting the minister, and a convention

may be established that they would be chosen by the Legislature. Again by another convention, the question of nomination to the Senate by individual States may be left to the popular legislatures to be established in these individual States. The Board of Rulers can become the constitutional head of the Union. Every thing therefore depends upon the spirit in which the Act is worked and it is hoped that the people of these States wholeheartedly welcome this Union and work the Act for the betterment of all.

## UNITED STATES' TRADE WITH INDIA

By MR. V. G. RAMAKRISHNAN, M.A.

(Annamalai University, Annamalai Nagar)

UNITED States' trade with India has shown marked increase during the war years. Total exports increased from an annual average of about 35 million dollars in the pre-war period 1936-38 to 777 million dollars in 1944 primarily as a result of large shipment of lend-lease supplies. Similarly exports from India rose from the average value of about 75 million dollars in 1936-38 to about 145 million dollars in 1944.

The trade between U.S. and India during the war has constituted an increased part of the total international trade of both countries. In pre-war years U.S. exports to India comprised about one per cent. of the U.S. exports and 6 to 7 per cent. of India's total imports and they increased to 5 to 17 per cent. respectively of total trade in the three year period 1942-44.

Imports of Indian goods likewise showed increases rising from 3 per cent. of total U.S. imports before the war to 4 per cent. in 1942-44 and from an average of 8.5 per cent. of India's total exports to 18 per cent.

For many years before the war U.S. purchases from India in terms of value have exceeded India's purchases from U.S. trade with India has shown an excess of imports in each war year.

An analysis of U.S. export and imports will show that there has been considerable commodity shifts. As regards exports military equipment comprised the main exports to India from 1942-44 representing 52 per cent. of total exports to India—machinery, motor trucks, heavy iron steel, food-stuffs etc. figured largely in the export lists.

As regards imports, jute bags, unmanufactured jute comprised 45 per cent. of the total value of imports from India into U.S. Other commodities are Indian tea, shellac, mica, etc. It would be interesting to consider the various types of equipment for which there might be a good market in India for U.S. machinery. First of all, there is the textile industry; India's largest industry in cotton textile and textile machinery has long been imported. Before World War I it accounted for 40 per cent. of total machinery imports followed by electrical machinery which made up 6 per cent. Through a twenty year period following the war, textile machinery, much of which was for cotton goods, manufactures accounted for from 20 to 25 per cent. of total machinery imports and electrical equipment for about 15 to 18 per cent. The U.S.A. has had only a small fraction of Indian market for textile

machinery. Before the first world war almost all the machinery used in Indian textile mills was of British make. But by the end of this period, Germany had about 7 per cent. of this business and made large gains of this business after 1935.

Today one of the primary demands of India is for textile machinery. It is estimated that about 50 per cent. of the entire spinning and weaving plant will require replacement within 10 years. In the first five years, it is estimated that 3,300,000 spindles and 50,000 looms will have to be replaced along with dyeing, bleaching, printing and finishing machinery, if the annual needs of 12 yards of cotton cloth *per capita* are to be met. If the annual per capita requirements are to be increased to 18 yards, it will be necessary to procure an additional 2,400,000 spindles and 68,000 looms. In the case of other machinery apart 24,000 flat revolving cards, 20,000 draw and speed frames and 22,000 ring spindles are considered to be necessary. According to the Bombay plan the annual target is 30 yards per capita and its fulfilment would mean an importation of still greater quantities of most types of textile machinery.

Indian purchasers of textile machinery are, no doubt, interested in procuring textile machinery from the U.S. manufacturers. But the U.S. has already large orders from old customers to carry out and further could not manufacture goods for all potential buyers in a short time and further Indian firms require textile machinery with specifications suited to existing units. The U.S. manufacture is accustomed to designing machinery to meet needs of particular types of cloth and if Indian textile equipment is slightly altered, the U.S.A. might be able to meet Indian needs. It is also in the interests of U. S. manufacturers to capture the Indian market by supplying the necessary textile machinery.

The next important type of goods for which there is an Indian market for U. S. machinery is electrical equipment. In the

years to come India will require a good deal of expanded electrical power production. The present per capita consumption of electricity is the lowest being less than one hundredth of the U. S. A. Already plans for development of electric power are being formulated and a central Technical Power Board has been set-up. Between 1933-38 imports of electrical machinery showed an increase, but 70 per cent. of the business was held by Britain. In 1938 U.S.A.'s sixth most important export to India was electrical machinery. It is expected that there may be a large demand for electrical machinery over a period of some years and if it is possible to settle terms suitable to both the Indian buyers and U.S. manufacturers, the Indian market for American electrical equipment may be developed to a considerable extent.

A third type of goods for which there is a potential Indian market for U. S. manufactures is refrigerating machinery. Considerations of climate and weather require that in India refrigerating and air-conditioning equipment should be greatly augmented. Imports of refrigerating machinery into India increased nine times. Between 1914-18 and U. S. has had a large share *i.e.* about 80 to 90 per cent of the refrigeration equipment in the last few years before the recent war came. From the U.S. a large market for U.S. refrigeration machinery is likely to develop in the near future.

As regards air-conditioning equipment as early as 1937, the Indian railways began to use such equipment and it is estimated that 3,000,000 dollars of such equipment were imported into India from U.S. in 1937. Many theatres in India were now using mechanical refrigeration and would like to instal air conditioning equipment when it becomes available. Office buildings, dining rooms, buses and automobiles, radios, and telephones and a number of other miscellaneous items—whatever be the size of the Indian markets in the coming years, there is a greater possibility of U.S. participation in it, even though the American equipment in certain cases is relatively of higher costs.

In India, U. S. products are already gaining ground and during the war period greater quantities of U.S. equipment reached India than in any other comparable period. For the present the question of payment for U.S. goods looms large but it may be overcome if Indian businessmen are determined to buy American goods and if American manufacturers adapt to the needs of the Indian market. Textile mills, tea and coffee estates are potential users of this equipment.

As regards tractors between 1933 and 1938 the U. S. had about 70 per cent. of the Indian tractor market, the entire market for tractors for agricultural purposes and of farm machinery in general will be small. In 1937-38 tractors imported were valued at 187,000 dollars. In some provinces and states tractors have been purchased by co-operative groups and it is just possible that there will be increased use of tractors for agricultural purposes. The U.S. exports

of tractors to India in 1944 including land leases were valued at 11,000,000 dollars.

The majority of these tractors, are not adaptable for use in agriculture, but suitable for excavations and road buildings work. If expanded road consideration is undertaken as also flood control development and irrigation, there might be need for this kind of equipment in India.

India has already chalked out the post-war needs in respect of machine tools, chemical manufacture equipment, replacement and repair for sugar producing equipment, facilities to increase cement production to the level of 6,000,000 tons a year, equipment for fertilizers manufacture, industrial machinery of all kinds, office equipment, trucks.

So long as American economy depends more and more upon export trade, India will be no negligible market for American goods.

## THE BRITISH INDUSTRIES FAIR

BY MR. N. V. ESWAR

THE British Industries Fair, got up recently by the British Government, literally exhibited at the world's show-window what all things Britain can make and sell to the world, apart from demonstrating to the world the vitality of the British people, as Sir Stafford Cripps said at the Inauguration.

Of course, the world had to come to the showpage. And it did. Buyers from almost every country in the world visited the Fair to see what Britain can sell them and what they can sell of British goods in their own countries at a margin to themselves. The visitors represented over 90 countries, totalling 16,710 persons—all prospective Overseas buyers. The overall total number of those who visited the Fair stood at 500,000. Certainly a record for a purely industrial exhibition, with accent on commerce.

Though the 16,710 overseas buyers could buy anything they wanted, Trade restrictions prevailing in their own countries and currency difficulties prevented them from transacting any business. So, at the Fair, larger number of orders for British goods were registered from South America, Switzerland, Belgium and India than any other countries.

On the opening day of the Fair itself, South America placed an order for domestic aluminium hollow-ware amounting to £100,000. Australia placed an order for 2,000 cricket bats. One dealer in Kashmir and Shetland woddies took an order to the tune of £100,000, while a leading manufacturer of high-grade women's clothing registered substantial orders from 37 overseas countries for his wares. South America, France, Belgium, India, Ceylon, Canada and New Zealand placed pretty



good orders for rubber, moulded flooring. Similarly, the Glove trade found good buyers in Scandinavian and Argentine buyers.

On the other hand, substantial orders for scientific and optical instruments, pottery, rayon, engineers tools, auxiliary motors, gearing and intricate machining equipments, as also heavy engineering and hardware goods had to be turned down for the reason that the orders already booked were far too heavy a demand on the production capacity of the manufacturers. The same story was repeated in the light industries section, representing cutlery, jewellery, silverware, watches, clocks, office appliances, chemicals, druggists' sundries, toys and fancy goods.

The Fair, however, gave an opportunity for the prospective British exporters—both in established and new lines—to discuss agency terms with overseas interests, when they could not make a spot sale. Consequently, a number of firms represented in the Fair were able to find Agents and Agencies in more than 20 overseas markets where they had no representation whatsoever.

The Fair also emphasised the vast progress British manufacture has made in all branches within the short time

it had after the ending of World War II. There was a great lee-way to be made, due to the interruption in unrestricted progress caused by World War II. The Industries Fair demonstrated to the world the fact that British manufacture has not only swung back to the normal pre-war level but that it has also made rapid progress in the shortest possible time.

Remarkable progress has been registered, especially in the electrical trade with regard to switchgear, rectifier, high-frequency equipment, electro-magnetic apparatus and electronic equipment. The progress towards smooth design in heavy engineering equipments has been particularly noteworthy.

Above all, the Industries Fair imparted a new confidence into the minds of British manufacturers that their goods have a ready overseas market, as long as they do everything to maintain the standard and perfection they have attained and also try to make things new, commensurate with efficiency and utility. Looked at from this point of view, the British Industries Fair has been a great moral success for Britain, apart from its being an industrial and commercial success.

## RECOLLECTIONS OF DR. BESANT

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

MY acquaintance with Dr. Besant began almost within a few years after her arrival at Adyar. As I think of her, many memories crowd into my mind. The first thing that I recall is her invitation to me to visit the Olcott Panchama school at Adyar. After completing a round of the institution, we sat together for a conversation in the course of which she told me that our treatment of the panchamas was shameful and that Hindus, particularly of the higher classes should leave no stone unturned to improve their lot. She did not at all like our way of

addressing them as 'pariahs'. According to her, there was something inhuman in it; and if I mistake not, she was the first to use the word 'panchama' when talking and writing about the depressed classes. Her noble soul revolted against the very idea of asking them to scurry off the road if a Hindu of a superior class came along, or forcing them to speak to one from a distance. Among the many workmen at Adyar were several panchamas. Mrs. Besant had noticed on one occasion that a Hindu official who was in charge of the distribution of pay to the workmen month after



month was calling out each man by name; and in the case of the panchamas, he was asked to stand at a respectable distance, the amount due to him was thrown on the ground and he was made to pick it up. Mrs. Besant felt keenly the barbarity of the treatment meted out to this class. She informed the clerk concerned that she would like to be present when the pay for the next month was to be distributed. On the due date, Mrs. Besant took charge of the cash, had the amount for each man packed up in a sheet of paper, called each one in turn and handed over the amount, in person. Needless to say it had the desired effect and from that moment onward, the panchamas at Adyar began to be treated with consideration.

I remember too her mentioning to me with emotion how gentle, docile and as a rule industrious, these panchamas were and yet despite our treatment of them, "they were clinging with pathetic affection to the Hinduism which flouts and outrages them." It was left to Mahatma Gandhi to take up this question in right earnest in later years and denounce untouchability as a blot on Hinduism. Mrs. Besant was not content with showing them mere lip sympathy. She interested herself keenly in the problem of educating them and she was instrumental in starting not only the well-known Olcott Panchama School at Adyar, but a few other institutions as well.

#### NATIONAL EDUCATION

The next thing which comes vividly to my mind is her great campaign for national education. According to her, education could never be a success in India until and unless the problem was tackled by Indians themselves in the right spirit. I remember very well the great public meeting which she addressed at the Pachayappa's College, Madras, in which she pleaded for reforming our educational system and in particular appealed for funds for starting the Central Hindu College at Benares. Her recital of the

ancient glories of Hinduism and the special features of our educational ideals, roused the patriotism of the audience. Her moving eloquence was responsible for the many handsome donations that were promised on the spot and for the zeal with which many took it up. My late lamented friend Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar who was present at the meeting was so deeply moved that within a few days after it, he made a special tour of the land of the Nagarathars, and collected substantial funds for the College. The Central Hindu College, I need hardly remind the readers, afterwards became the nucleus of the Hindu University at Benares.

#### CONVENTION LECTURES

More vivid still is my recollection of the crowd that used to throng at Adyar daily to hear her famous morning lectures at the Annual Conventions. I used to attend them as a student and continued to do so for a long time afterwards. The range of subjects touched upon by her was really marvellous and there was a ring of sincerity and personal conviction in her utterance that made a deep impression on the audience. I must here be content with mentioning the lectures on various phases of Hinduism which afterwards were published in book form. The story of the Avatars, the story of the Great War, and the story of Sri Ramachandra, the ideal king, have, among others, become permanent additions to our classical literature. Above all, her translation of our sacred song, the Bhagavad Gita, which she permitted me to bring out in a pocket edition, has been circulated in hundreds of thousands. How well her lectures and these publications of hers have helped the spread of true Hinduism is common knowledge.

#### HOME RULE CAMPAIGN

I have reserved to the last the most important phase of her activities, viz., the political. When the history of Indian freedom comes to be written, Mrs. Besant's name

will find an honoured place in it. She was one of the few Englishmen and women who condemned, and condemned strongly, the way in which India was being treated by England, the denial of the freedom to which she was entitled. Her famous Home Rule campaign is responsible not a little for stirring up political agitation in India to a high degree. By her forceful contributions to the Press, by her inimitable eloquence, by her books and her numerous brochures and pamphlets, she made the country, from one end to the other, ring with the cry of Home Rule for India. The attitude adopted by some of the Provincial Governments towards her and particularly by the Madras Government which ordered her internment and that of two of her colleagues, served only to give a fresh stimulus to the cause she was advocating. And even those politicians and journalists who had differences with her, banded themselves together to protest against the fettering of her speech and writing, the liberty she had loved from the beginning of her life, the liberty for which she fought and suffered. It would be but bare justice to say that the Home Rule movement inaugurated by her gave a tremendous momentum to India's claim for self-government for which the Congress had been agitating for years. Since the days of Burke, of Bright, of Fawcett, of Bradlaugh and of that saint among civil servants, Sir William Wedderburn, every English friend of India who pleaded for her cause has been the subject of contempt and ridicule at the hands of Anglo-Indian administrators here and of their representatives at home. Mrs. Besant was the victim of much obloquy and calumny, but undaunted, she pursued her campaign with increased vigour and enthusiasm. I can never forget the great and stirring speech she made at the Lucknow Congress pleading for Self-government for India; and when she said,

"England at her peril calls on Indian soldiers to fight for the liberty of England and the sacredness of treaties, and then sends those soldiers back home to find their people still in bondage."

the whole Congress cheered her. The audience was greatly moved when she further went on:

India has still love for England. India does not want to break the British connection, but the England she loves is not the steel-fenced England of the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and all those hostile enactments of 1918 and 1927. It is not the England of those things that we love; it is the England of Cromwell, of Hampden and Pym, of Milton and Shelley. It is the England that sheltered the threatened life of Mazzini, the England that welcomed Garibaldi by thousands in her streets as the liberator of Italy, the England that has been sheltering every political refugee, it is that England that we love.

How true are these words to-day as when they were uttered thirty years ago!

#### A GREAT LEADER

This tribute to Mrs. Besant will be incomplete if I do not mention the great human qualities which made men and women cling to her and be ready to do anything at her beck and call. She was singularly free from malice; her attachment to friends and her consideration to political opponents were well known; her love and kind treatment of her servants have been proverbial; and her last will recording her dying wishes that all her servants should be paid for the remainder of their lives the wages they were receiving when she died, testifies to her nobility and generosity.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest, and in particular on subjects bearing on the political, commercial, industrial and economic condition of India. Short articles on topical subjects are preferred. Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for.

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 700 words.

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor, *The Indian Review*, G. T., Madras.

# PROHIBITION IN MADRAS

BY HON. MR. DANIEL THOMAS

*Minister for Prohibition & Transport, Madras*

O: 11

The Government of Madras have launched upon a high experiment for the general and social uplift of the people of this Province by their Prohibition policy. On the 1st of this month the Government took steps to implement Prohibition in 8 new districts—Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madurai, Nellore, Guntur, Malabar, South Canara and the Nilgiris—with appropriate demonstrations, including public meetings, processions and free distribution of tea and sweets at the respective centres, so as to enlist the enthusiastic support of all the people of the area. It is hoped that the success of the programme will mean increased health, happiness and prosperity to the people concerned.—[*IND. I.R.*]

**R**EADERS of this journal know very well that some years ago an attempt was made in the United States of America to prohibit the manufacture of liquor and thereby prevent the people of the States from indulging in strong drink. This was tried for some years but the regulation was so widely defied that it practically became a dead letter and finally it had to be given up altogether. The reasons for the failure are given out differently by different people. Some people say that it was not possible to enforce prohibition as public opinion was unfavourable and therefore it failed, others say that at least, in some of the States of America it was a definite success, but it was abolished because of the manipulations of vested interests connected with the drink trade.

In India, the Congress Party is pledged to a policy of prohibition. Mahatma Gandhi is vitally interested in the welfare of the people in all villages and he is convinced with a burning conviction that in order to uplift their lives and to rescue them from the grips of poverty, destitution, dirt and disease it is absolutely essential that we should implement a policy of prohibition throughout the length and breadth of the country. Shortly after the Congress assumed office in the Madras Province in 1937, Sri C. Rajagopal Chari, the Premier, was keen and enthusiastic in introducing prohibition in the province. As a beginning it was introduced in the District of Salem and it was subsequently implemented in Chittoor, North Arcot and

Cuddapah. The scheme was planned to be extended to the other districts of the Province as quickly as may be possible, from the point of view of finance and administration. The General Sales Tax was introduced by the Congress Ministry specially for the purpose of meeting the deficit which would be caused by the abolition of excise revenue. After the outbreak of the war, the Congress Ministry resigned in 1939. The Advisers' regime went back on this programme and gave it up in 1944. After the recent elections, the Congress Party again came into power and shortly after the assumption of office by the last Ministry in April 1946, both the Ministry and the Legislative Council Party as well as the Congress Party throughout the province were keen and eager to resume the introduction of the prohibition programme. This feeling was so keen and high that there were even proposals that prohibition should be introduced in all the 24 districts simultaneously. This was found financially and administratively impossible and prohibition was introduced in 8 districts in October 1946. The programme is to introduce prohibition in 8 other districts in October 1947 and to complete the introduction of prohibition all over the province by October 1948.

The programme of prohibition has been in actual working in our province in the 8 districts of North Arcot, Chittoor, Salem, Coimbatore, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur and Bellary for the last 9 months. It may be useful now to review the general working of prohibition during six months.

The total revenue for the province of Madras from excise is 17 crores. But the excise revenue of 17 crores is only a fraction of the actual money spent by the people on drink. The total expenditure on drink may roughly be estimated to be 4 times the revenue, namely 68 crores of rupees. The total population of the province is about 50 millions and we may roughly estimate about 10 per cent of the people to be addicted to drink. This works out that 5 million people spend nearly 70 crores of rupees on drink and the majority of these 5 millions are the people belonging to the working classes who are least able to afford to spend money on drink and throw away on this evil of drink money which is necessary for the better living of themselves and their families.

At the outset it may be said with fair certainty that as a result of the introduction of prohibition in these 8 districts, between 75 and 90 per cent of the people who had been addicted to toddy are now free from this evil and are thereby enabled to live more decent and more happy lives, spend more money for food and clothing and generally rise to a higher level of living. Side by side with the introduction of prohibition, the Government have also introduced various activities in these villages to improve the general level of the life of the villagers. In these 8 districts about 5,800 gramasangams have been formed and the activities of these sangams are directed to various aspects of the life of the village communities. Village games like Chudugudu and folk dancing and singing are played by selected groups of the young men of the villages drawn from all classes and communities. Co-operative societies for various purposes are also formed to improve the economic life of the village communities. Thrift societies have been

formed to help people to save money for building houses for buying cattle and such useful and necessary purposes. Prohibition is, after all, a negative programme and side by side with prohibition there should be a positive programme for all round village uplift. This is being carried out under the guidance and direction of special ameliorative officers who have been appointed in all these 8 districts.

It must be admitted that we are face to face with a number of real problems as regards the successful working of the prohibition policy. The first problem is the problem of securing wide-spread public co-operation. Unless every man and every woman in villages and towns of the prohibition areas makes himself or herself personally interested in this policy, prohibition cannot be worked with complete success. There are men who are out to make money out of the present situation and who are manufacturing illicit liquor and selling it to the ex-addicts at very high prices. This problem is intensified by the contiguity of wide areas, such as Mysore, Hyderabad and some minor States in the Rayalaseema area; but Mysore has already adopted a gradual policy for implementing prohibition and I believe that in the course of a few years not only the Province of Madras but all the adjoining Indian States will also go completely dry. The difficulty therefore of checking illicit distillation and sale is more or less a temporary difficulty which we could overcome in course of time. The prohibition laws are also being tightened up in order to make drunkenness by itself an offence under the Law. This will greatly help the suppression of illicit manufacture and sale of liquor, but greater co-operation between the people, the village officials and Government servants is necessary for the complete eradication of illicit distillation.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY MR. B. NATESAN

## Britain as India's Ally

SINCE the 15th August last when India became free with British assistance there has been a sudden and very perceptible swing of public goodwill towards Britain. This, in spite of the fact that in carrying out her old "divide and rule" policy to the bitter end she has done lasting injury to this country. It will be recalled that only a couple of years ago Dr Sapru declared that never had Britain's prestige in India fallen so low as then and British *bonafides* were still suspect. And now, by a stroke of statesmanship, in leaving India without bloodshed and bitterness, Britain has overnight become a true and faithful ally.

If only Britain had left the country intact without tampering with its integrity we would have been spared the ugly incidence of bloodshed and carnage that has followed her withdrawal. But then, it is the price we have paid for our independence, and that is past history.

Yet it is just possible that our successors will speak with tender regard, not unmingled with a certain touch of regret, of the spacious days of the Georges!

## Second Rule in West Punjab

The *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore is not a pro-Congress paper; it is decidedly not anti-League. But the utter chaos in West Punjab and the incompetence and corruption so rampant in that new Province of Pakistan have urged it to some plain-speaking. News of cold-blooded murder and arson have streaked out in the press in spite of the iron curtain raised by the new Government. "At the moment," writes the *Gazette*:

The Province is being ruled not by Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot and his colleagues, but by police constables and goondas. New heads of departments find that the organisation has collapsed and discipline is non-existent. Magistrates and petty officials are discovering in the absence of broad lines of policy, that it is impossible to implement orders which are ill-conceived and not often mutually contradictory. And the public is being ground between the upper mill-stone of ignorance and incompetence and the lower one of corruption and self-aggrandisement.

Meanwhile, the Ministers do not know how to do things or how to get them done. . . . At the moment, West Punjab Ministers are doing little in public either to allay disorder or to rehabilitate morale which is at its lowest ebb in recent history.

The paper candidly asks these "pretenders to their portfolios" to "govern or get out".

It is evidently to cover up this incompetence that Pakistan has started the "atrocities stunt" and appealed to Britain and the Dominions for help. It is so difficult to shake off the old subject-nation mentality! We can now understand the threat to ask the U.N.A. to intervene, in affairs which must be settled between India and Pakistan. That is perhaps the first fruit of India's courteous effort to sponsor Pakistan's entry into the U.N.O. But it is too late in the day to attempt to throw dust in the eyes of a world which is very much alive.

## The Muslim Minority in India

One of the strangest and saddest of our experiences is the fact that it was the Muslims in Hindu majority provinces even more than in the Punjab or the Frontier that were loudest in their clamour for division—a division too which cannot possibly affect them or their fortunes in the slightest degree. One wonders if it was all such altruism or a mere itch for mischief making. Now that they have had their hearts' desire it is for them to make up their mind to choose between India and Pakistan. For generations India has been the home of Muslims and others, and not all the clamour of the communalists is going to change our national outlook. The children of the soil have a right to citizenship and we welcome them with open arms. But their loyalty to the State of their choice must be above suspicion. India would no more tolerate fifth columnists working for alien interests from within and sabotaging the constitution from underground. They will deserve the fate of all traitors.

**Sir Zafrullah Khan's Outburst**

Sir Zafrullah Khan, leader of the Pakistan delegation to U. N. A. has quickly learnt the technique of the League language. He is reported to have told pressmen in New York that killing of Muslims had been "going on for more than a month in the Province of the East Punjab and latterly in the Province of Delhi."

If this deliberate and planned extermination of a people continues unchecked by India, Pakistan as a last resort must seek satisfaction through U.N. and if it fails to get that satisfaction, it may have to resort to direct measures.

Yes; the U.N will afford Sir Zafrullah and his ilk an international stage to strut about and fiddle while the country is burning!

And then he said that "the horrible and ruthless killing in that part of India put the whole Delegation of Pakistan in a very depressed and mournful mood".

Responsibility for this rests entirely on the Government of India which so far has utterly failed to discharge its responsibility or even face it squarely.

When one realises all that the leaders of the Indian Government have done to pour oil on troubled waters, and all that League leaders have done to incite violence and hatred, language of this kind stands self condemned. The late Lord Balfour would have called it "frigid and calculated lie." And yet the speaker was once Judge of the Federal Court, the highest judicial authority in the late British Government. How facilely the learned Judge has learnt to adjust himself to the new situation? Such are the specimens on whom the late Government showered their honours and offices!

Sir Zafrullah has no regrets for the tragic happenings in West Punjab. The whole thing is a vicious propaganda for the consumption of foreigners.

**Liaquat's Provocative Statement**

League leaders now enjoying positions of power and authority in their new State still continue to rant and talk glibly in the old irresponsible way. It was to appease them that India accepted division, hoping that thereby at any rate, we could live in peace and amity as befits friends and neighbours. Yet a man in the responsible position of a Prime Minister does not hesitate to make provocative charges. Speaking at the Punjab League Council, Mr Liaquat Ali hinted darkly at an "unholy plan chalked out by the enemies of Pakistan to sabotage it at the very birth." Who are the enemies?

(1) To-day we (Pakistan) are surrounded on all sides by forces which are out to destroy us. They (these forces) feel that with the consolidation of Pakistan their cherished dream to rule 'all over the sub-continent of India will not be realised.'

(2) The Muslims in East Punjab were roused only by the bullets and bayonets of the forces of law and order.

(3) The Government of India and East Punjab had not honoured and implemented the decisions jointly taken by the Governments of the two Dominions in Lahore some days ago.

Notice the studied avoidance of any mention of Muslim atrocities in West Punjab. We have again the old familiar lamentations and the atrocity stunt which have served them so well in the past. No wonder that Pandit Nehru is both surprised and pained at this hit below the belt. Why, only the other day the two Premiers toured the affected areas in East as in West Punjab and tackled the problem of the million and odd refugees together! And yet to indulge in this tub thumping by a person in a responsible position only shows his incapacity to shed the old vulgar craze for propaganda of the worst kind which will do positive harm to all concerned. Is there not a touch of the old tragi-comic cry of the Fascist dictator in Germany when he wailed "we are encircled!" Psychiatrists said that Hitler was not quite sane.

**Gandhiji's Peace Mission**

Mahatma Gandhi has brought peace and succour to the afflicted. His method of approach to the grave problems facing the country has been unique but everyone who has come in contact with the situation has borne testimony to what is called the "miracle" that has been wrought on the people by Gandhiji's presence in the midst of suffering humanity. His talks and prayers and fasts have had a wonderful effect no less on the wrong-doers than on the innocent victims. So it was in Noakhali and Bihar and Calcutta and now in the heart of afflicted Delhi he is again face to face with the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim sufferers, bringing comfort to the heart of the afflicted in the way that only *he* can do. No wonder members of Muslim no less than Hindu families who have lost their all, flock to him for support and solace. It is something that some at any rate among the League leaders and papers are not insensible to the remarkable results of Gandhiji's activity in their midst.

Addressing a prayer meeting at Delhi on September 19 he said:

God would fulfil my dream of Hindus and Muslims living together as brothers and friends, or take me away and save me from witnessing the awful tragedy of one part of India being inhabited by Muslims only and the other part by Hindus.

Gandhiji has always been against the division of the country as also of the Provinces, and though circumstances have forced him to accept the inevitable he refuses to think in terms of India and Pakistan as distinct entities as he refuses to differentiate between Hindu and Muslim, among citizens of a common motherland. Answering a question at a Prayer meeting, Mahatma Gandhi said that

he could not associate himself with the contention that India should drive out all its Muslim population to Pakistan as the Muslims of Pakistan were driving out all non-Muslims. "Two wrongs will not make one right."

And so he exhorted the Muslims to stick to their houses whatever happens, and prove their loyalty to India as true and faithful citizens. For, he declared, if India and Pakistan were to be perpetual enemies and go to war against each other, it would ruin the Dominions and their hard-won freedom would be soon lost.

**Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy**

The passing away of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy at Boston, U.S.A. removes from the field of art one of the best known savants of our time. Scholar and artist he was a writer of encyclopædic range, who wielded the resources of the English language with consummate ability. For 30 years Curator of the Boston Museum of Fine arts he specialised in Indian, Persian and Mahomedan art and the results of his researches have found fitting expression in such books as the "History of Indian and Indonesian Art", "The Indian Craftsman," "The Dance of Shiva," "Vidyapathi" and "Rajput Painting." One of our own earliest publications was his "Essays in National Idealism"—a book that reminds us, at every turn, of our glorious heritage of art and culture. Indeed his writings have done not a little to the revival of the spirit of pride in our national heritage, and he remained to the end one of the architects of Indian nationalism. Only in August last, on the completion of his seventieth year, he was felicitated by scholars from all parts of the world. And it is of melancholy interest to recall his wish to return to India to spend his last days in a hermitage, at the foot of the Himalayas. That last wish of his was denied to him.



# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

## Interim Government for Palestine

**T**HE Arabs and the Jews who have never agreed on the question of Palestine's future, seem strangely enough, completely agreed on the necessity for Britain's withdrawal from Palestine. Singularly enough both sections welcome the British decision!

An Arab-Jewish Interim Government was one of the suggestions made by Dr. Khalidi, Secretary of the Palestine Arab Higher Executive, following the announcement of Britain's policy by Mr. Creech Jones to bridge the gap between the withdrawal of Britain and the attainment of independence by Palestine.

The interim Government, it was proposed, should consist of five Palestinian Arabs and two Palestinian Jews with a High Commissioner nominated by the Arab League.

## Prof. Einstein's Warning

Professor Albert Einstein, the famous mathematician, and scientist, warned the chiefs of delegations to the United Nations that "threat of extinction hangs over humanity."

The peace-loving countries have a potential instrument to prevent a war of extinction, provided the General Assembly of the United Nations became a World Parliament and had the final say over the "veto-paralysed Security Council," he declared in a letter published in the *United Nations World*.

He proposed that the General Assembly should increase its authority and subordinate the Security Council to it, that delegates should be chosen by popular election rather than by Government appointment, and that the General Assembly should stay in permanent session during the present "crisis".

The World, he said, faced "the gravest crisis in the history of Mankind" and the General Assembly was the only capable of ending the threat to humanity.

## The Case against South Africa

Neither the United Nations General Assembly nor the Trusteeship Committee should allow the South African Government to by-pass the United Nations resolution on Trusteeship Agreement for South-West Africa, declared the Russian delegate, Prof. Boris Stein, in the U.N. Trusteeship Committee at Lake Success, on September 26, during the debate on S.W. Africa's future. India's stand, outlined at the beginning of the debate, received further support in the Committee, notably from Syrian, Byelo-Russian, Ukrainian and Egyptian delegates.

The Russian delegate Prof. Boris Stein accused South Africa of intending to annex South-West Africa. South Africa had stated that it had plans for inviting some of the territory's population to take part in the Union Legislature. This would "merely simplify the annexation of South-West Africa," said the Russian delegate.

## Transfer of Power to Burma

Burma will assume her full, sovereign independence outside the British Commonwealth of Nations in January, 1948. This was made finally clear by Lord Listowel, Secretary of State for Burma, at a Press conference in London on September 18.

Lord Listowel, who has just returned to England from a goodwill visit to Burma, also announced that upon Burma's assumption of independence, Britain would appoint an Ambassador, and would withdraw all British troops as soon as possible after the transfer of power.

To speed the transfer of power, a Bill will be introduced in Parliament at the beginning of the new session in the latter part of October.

Lord Listowel gave the assurance that this Bill would be hastened through both Houses of Parliament to become law before the end of the year.





# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

A PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. BY C. F. ANDREWS.  
Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., Ltd., Agra.

The writer belongs easily to the ranks of the ageless spirits who have toiled incessantly for the good, gain and welfare of humanity. 'Deenabandhu' and 'Charlie' as C. F. Andrews was more familiarly known to many of his friends and admirers all the world over, had a past which is full of lessons for eagerly watching posterity.

C. F. Andrews was born of very religious parents who believed in the Second Coming of the Lord. The atmosphere of the home added to his early education, strongly supplied his young mind with a great zest to follow the path of service. As a devout Christian he had his share in the trials born of conflicts of the mind, torn between the persistence of a blind faith in God and a growing disbelief in an age of advancing scientific knowledge. But the truth remains that the conquest of spiritual consciousness over intellectual alertness paved the way which finally brought him near the two master-spirits of our times, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore.

No doubt the inquisitive reader cannot stifle his curiosity to know more details of the early contact that 'Charlie' had with the two important sons of India. The writer is very brief here, perhaps inexcusably brief too; and the reader's patience seems much tried. May be Andrews did not dwell at length on those details that would otherwise have enhanced the value of an autobiographical sketch as this, because of his having elsewhere dealt with them. Still the reader of this volume appears unconsoled.

LINGUA FRANCA FOR HINDUSTAN AND THE HINDUSTANI MOVEMENT. By Ravi Shankar Shukla, Oudh Publishing House, Lucknow.

With the declaration of independence for India, the time has now come for finally settling the problem of a national language for the country. The subject is already being discussed unofficially by the members of the Constituent Assembly; and the well-known writer of the book under review has already dealt with the subject with a learning and authority that should command respect for his conclusions. The tussle now is between Hindi and Hindustani. In this book Mr. Shukla examines at some length the merits of this tussle against the background of the Hindustani movement bringing the story down to the latest phase of political development viz., the division of India. In view of the urgency of the problem, Mr. Shukla's thesis deserves the deepest consideration of all thoughtful readers—particularly those whose decision on the subject is bound to make a difference in the fortunes of the country.

THE CHARM OF ENGLISH PROSE. Ed. by Prof. R. K. Lagu and Prof. N. P. Gune, Venus Book Stall, Poona.

Here is a collection of well-known passages from English Essayists. It is easy to call attention to glaring omissions, but then there must be a limit to the size of such a volume. Selections from Carlyle or Ruskin would obviously swell the volume. The Indian reader may, however, be interested to find selections from Gandhi and Gokhale and Sastri and Radhakrishnan in a volume of English Essays from Joseph Addison to Quiller Couch! The notes at the end of the book may prove useful and helpful to students.

**FAMOUS URDU POETS AND WRITERS.** By Sir Abdul Qadir. New Book Society, Lahore.

Sir Abdul Qadir has devoted a life-time to the pursuit and study of Urdu literature, and as Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha has remarked in his foreword, the author is neither laudatory, nor hypercritical in his criticism of Urdu writers. This book is a collection of his lectures on the lives and works of famous Urdu writers in the post-Ghalib period. Hali is the most sympathetic admirer of Ghalib among his critics; and the latter is held to be superior to Zank as a genius and a thinker. Ghalib does not show from his prose writing any large traces of contact with the English tongue which was seen only in the writings of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his co-workers like Hali and Nazir Ahmad. Maulvi Zaka Ullah of Delhi wrote the *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, a most exhaustive compilation; and Maulana Shibli Numani wrote many political poems and the *Sirat-i-Nabi* (Life of the Prophet) as well as a life of Jalaluddin Rumi. Abdul Halim Sharar and Pandit Rattan Nath share the honour of being the best Urdu novelists. All the sketches are eminently readable and contain much of biographical detail.

**FRONTIER SPEAKS.** By Mohammad Yunus With a Foreword by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru; and a Preface by Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan—2nd Ed. Hind Kitabs—Bombay.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru writes that the conversion of the Pathan to non-violence, though far from complete, is still very real, and according to the Frontier Gandhi the Pathan's freedom can well harmonise with the conception of Indian's freedom

and it will not tolerate any isolationism any more. According to Yunus, Pathan history from the 12th to the 15th centuries was really the history of India and it has created problems that have not been solved even now. The idea of a united Pathan nationality was first conceived by Khushal Khan Khattak, a contemporary of Aurangzeb. Ahmad Shah Afghani, Jamaluddin Afghani and Amir Abdur Rahman form a succession of creative leaders and at the present moment, the Afghani Premier, Sardar Shah Mahmud Khan is the best force for good.

The various frontier tribes are next described and the failure of the British policy towards them is shown to have been caused by a wrong approach, a false perspective and corrupt methods.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his movement are described. He is no politician in the technical sense of the word and his services to Indian nationalism have been prominently brought out. The last part of the book brings the narrative of the political movement up-to-date.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**Echo of the Himalayas** By G. C. Akbar Khan Oriental Books 26 Great James Street, Bedford Row, London WC1

**GERMANY'S UNDERGROUND** By Allen Welsh Dulla, Macmillan & Co., London.

**SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY** By Prof C. S. Shivadasachari, The National Information & Publications Ltd., Apollo Bunder, Bombay.

**LEAVES IN THE AUGUST WIND.** A Novel with the Indian upheaval of August 1942 for its background. By N. S. Phadke, Hind Kitab Ltd, Bombay.

**OUR HERITAGE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE** By Shripad Rama Sharma, Hind Kitab Ltd., Bombay.

**INDIA OF MY DREAMS** By M. K. Gandhi, Compiled by R. K. Prabhu Foreword by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Hind Kitabs, Bombay

**THE AYAR AND OTHER STORIES.** By Gertrude Murra, Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay.

**ON EDUCATION.** By Mulk Raj Anand. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay.

**ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF To-day.** By C. A. Saldanah, Codialbai Press, Mangalore.

**THREE STORIES.** By Humayun, Kabir. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay.

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- September 1. Gandhiji goes on fast at Calcutta.
- Satyagraha started in Mysore.
- September 2 Mass evacuation from West Punjab.
- Joint Committee set up for exchange of population and safe conduct of refugees.
- September 3 India submits memorandum to U N. A. calling on S.A. to implement the Charter.
- September 4. Gandhiji breaks fast after 75 hours
- Travancore Maharaja issues Proclamation conferring complete Responsible Government to his people.
- September 5 Committee appointed to tackle food problem.
- September 6 Mr. Mr. K. C. Neogy appointed Minister in charge of special department to deal with refugees.
- September 7. Gandhiji leaves Calcutta for Delhi
- Mysore Railway strike.
- September 8. Arrests and lathi charge on Satyagrahis in Hyderabad State.
- Delhi declared disturbed area.
- September 9 Gandhiji in Delhi. Appeal to Delhi citizens.
- September 10 Death is reported of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami at Boston.
- September 11. Crisis over Persian oil: Military movements on Soviet Frontier.
- September 12 Sardar Patel's call to citizens.
- Police firing in Mysore areas.
- September 13. Madras Zamindari Abolition Bill published.
- September 14. Sarat Bose opens All India Industrial, Khadi and Art Exhibition in Madras.
- Gandhi's call to Delhi people to end this mad fratricide.
- September 15. Gandhiji deploras transfer of population.
- Madras Assembly discusses food situation.
- September 16 Pandit Nehru replies to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's charges.
- Discovery of bomb factory in Muslim house in Subzi Mandi area in New Delhi.
- September 17 42 mile long non-Muslim convoy attacked in West Punjab.
- September 18 Refugee train attacked near Mian Wali.
- Lord Listowel reveals H. M. G's plan for Burma
- September 19. Mrs Pandit confers with South African delegate to U N. A.
- Marshall plan opposed by Soviet delegate.
- September 20. Delhi Muslims surrender arms to Gandhiji and affirm loyalty to Indian Union.
- September 21. Sir Sultan Ahmed included in Hyderabad Committee to negotiate with Union Govt.
- September 22. Textile strike in Bombay; 28 mills affected.
- U N. A. sets up special Palestine committee.
- September 23. Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay returns from London.
- September 24. Mysore Maharaja announces scheme of Responsible Government.
- Mr. N. Gopalaswami Iyengar joins India Cabinet as Minister without portfolio.
- September 25. Kathiawar States protest against Junagadh's accession to Pakistan.
- September 26. Gandhiji warns Pakistan.
- September 27. Interim Government for Palestine suggested.
- September 28. Gandhiji replies to Churchill's criticism of "fearful massacres" in India.
- September 29. Pakistan appeals to Britain and the Dominions to help solve communal troubles.
- September 30. Pakistan is admitted to membership of the United Nations.



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## THE NATIONAL FLAG OF INDIA

The national flag of India is a thing of beauty of which any country may justly be proud, writes Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, in *Sunday Times*. The juxtaposition of saffron, white and green, and the blue wheel adorning the centre of the flag on the white band produce an æsthetic effect pleasing to the eye and the mind alike.

A flag is what it is and becomes a thing of value by virtue of the meaning that is attached to it, the ideals and aspirations of which it is a symbol. The original designer of our flag, Mahatma Gandhi, the architect of India's freedom through non-violence, in the words of Lord Mountbatten, has given a meaning to the flag which is unique in the history of the world. He has made the flag stand for the values of the Spirit, for *satya* and *ahimsa*, sacrifice and service, communal concord and world-peace.

In the three colours are represented all the communities of this ancient land which has followed on the whole from the dawn of history the path of racial harmony and not the way of extermination of the weaker by the stronger groups of people. "It was during the periods when this rule was not honoured that India has lain low, losing her glory and freedom. If she has to regain her great status, as she must, it will be possible only through the re-establishment of communal concord. That is what the juxtaposition of the three colours (*varnas*) stands for."

The three colours also symbolise the fundamental virtues that must characterise

the life and conduct of individuals and nations. "The saffron signifies sacrifice and service; the white is symbolic of purity and peace; and the green connotes prosperity and progress. The world has for too long been under the influence of the profit-motive that it is time to re-build it on the foundations of sacrifice and service. Renunciation is, no doubt, difficult. But it is an ideal worthy to be striven after. Real joy comes through renunciation. It is for this ideal that the saffron, the colour of the sannyasin's robe, stands in India. Purity and peace are painted white. Spotless cleanliness we associate with the white colour. Purity of body, speech and mind has been stressed upon by the Mahatma. Even political ends are to be secured, not by the unclean methods of violence and secret diplomacy, but by the straight and open road of non-violence and truth. Only the peace that is achieved by this road will be abiding and worth having, add not the pseudo-peace that is won through violence and war. This is the lesson that the middle horizontal band of white has for us. The green which occupies the nether end of the flag signifies prosperity and progress.

The association of the wheel on Asoka's pillar with the *chakra* gives added significance to the flag. The great Emperor sought to build his state on the foundation of *Dharma*. The rivers of blood that flowed in the Kalinga war caused in him a disgust for all violence and physical force; and he resolved never to use the sword again. This historic event is matched only by the Gandhian way of *satyagraha*. While *Devanampriya*, the beloved of the gods, as Asoka was known, adopted the method of love for the governance of a vast realm, Mahatma Gandhi has shown the way of using the same weapon for melting the heart of the enemy and turning him into a friend."

### ENGLISH OR HINDUSTANI?

Unless the Governments and their secretariats take care, the English language is likely to usurp the place of Hindustani, says Gandhiji in an article in the *Harijan* under the caption "Take care." This must do infinite harm to the millions of India who would never be able to understand English. "Surely, it must be quite easy for the Provincial Governments to have a staff which would carry on all transactions in the Provincial languages and the inter-provincial language, which, in my opinion, can only be Hindustani written in Nagari or Urdu script."

Every day lost in making this necessary change is so much cultural loss to the nation, he says. "The first and foremost thing is to revive the rich provincial languages with which India is blessed. It is nothing short of mental sluggishness to plead that in our courts, in our schools and even in the Secretariats, some time, probably a few years, must lapse before the change is made. No doubt a little difficulty will be felt in multi-lingual Provinces, as in Bombay and Madras, until redistribution of Provinces takes place on the linguistic basis. Provincial Governments can devise a method in order to enable the people in those Provinces to feel that they have come into their own. Nor need the Provinces wait for the Union for solving the question, whether for inter-provincial speech it shall be Hindustani written in either Nagari or Urdu script or mere Hindi written in Nagari. This should not detain them in making the desired reform. It is a wholly unnecessary controversy likely to be the door through which English may enter to the eternal disgrace of India. If the first step, that is, revival of provincial speech in all public Departments takes place immediately, that of inter-provincial speech will follow in quick succession."

The Provinces will have to deal with the Centre. "They dare not do so through English, if the Centre is wise enough quickly to realise that they must not tax the nation culturally for the sake of a handful of Indians who are too lazy to pick up the speech which can be easily common to the whole of India without offending any party or section. My plea is for banishing English as cultural usurper as we successfully banished the political rule of the English usurper. The rich English language will ever retain its natural place as the international speech of commerce and diplomacy."

### THE BRITISH PRESS AND PUBLIC

"A deliberate Press campaign designed to convince the British public that the end of British rule in India has thrown the whole country into a state of anarchy is as wicked as it is misleading," observes the *New Statesman* editorially.

The Weekly adds: "The review of every incident in the Punjab tragedy as indicative of local breakdowns in the administration is exaggerated and distorted to give the impression of a nation-wide collapse."

Saying that as a whole 400,000,000 inhabitants of India have accepted "sudden and most tremendous changes in their long history with tranquillity and remarkable restraint," the journal points out: "There is no justification for the silly suggestion in some British newspapers that the Indian settlement was a mistake."

"The present massacres are a ghastly by-product of the painful re-birth of India but they are much less serious than, say, the 1943 Bengal famine—barely reported in Britain—when 1,590,000 died."

"In Bengal today outbreaks have been curbed by the patient efforts of Mahatma Gandhi. In the Punjab the Congress and League High Commands are equally well-intentioned and once they have had time to bring the necessary force into action, there is no reason to doubt that they will pass the first test of their rule."

# INDIAN STATES

## Hyderabad

### HYDERABAD'S TALKS WITH DELHI

It is understood that Sir Sultan Ahmed, former constitutional adviser to the Chamber of Princes, is also a member of the Committee to negotiate with the Indian Dominion regarding Hyderabad's constitutional affairs. The other members of the delegation as already reported are the Nawab of Chhattari, Sir Walter Monckton and Nawab Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur.

### THE MAJLIS' STAND

The Hyderabad State Congress has passed resolutions that Hyderabad should accede to the Indian Dominion and Responsible Government should be established as early as possible.

The Majlis Ittehadul Muslimin is opposed to both these resolutions. They would not depend upon the Government of the day to support them, but develop their own strength organisationally, says a prominent state congressman of Hyderabad.

"The Majlis demanded the dismissal of Sir Mirza Ismail and his resignation was accepted by His Exalted Highness. It has then passed a resolution of no confidence' by the President and members of the Cabinet alleging that they have betrayed the cause of the State by agreeing to join the Indian Dominion. His Exalted Highness has three times expressed his confidence in these Ministers and warned the Majlis with a mild rebuke advising its leaders to exercise great care and circumspection, but in spite of this warning, the Standing Committee of the Majlis has ratified the resolution of the Working Committee expressing want of confidence in these Ministers. It has thus become quite evident that His Exalted Highness and his Government are inclined toward accession to the Indian Dominion and the Majlis is quite opposed to it. . . The Government should not be afraid of the threats of the Majlis regarding 'direct action'."

## Mysore

### RESPONSIBLE GOVT. FOR MYSORE

As we go to Press (September 24) His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore has issued a proclamation announcing the grant of Responsible Government to the State based on the recommendations of the Consultative Committee.

A Council of Ministers is to be appointed and the Legislature is to elect a Committee to help in the drafting of the Constitution Bill. Representatives of the minority communities will, as far as possible, find a place in the Council.

### LEADERS' APPEAL TO MYSORE RULER

Messrs. D. V. Gundappa, M. P. Somasekhara Rao, P. R. Ramiah and Nittoor Srinivasa Rao have addressed the following telegram to the Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore:

"We are amazed to learn that the Dewan is rushing his scheme of Reforms, ignoring public opinion and not even consulting the Congress which is the largest political organisation in the State. The Consultative Committee's proposals are reactionary in some respects and make a travesty of Responsible Government. The public have no confidence that the present Government will faithfully implement the Maharaja's promise. We pray that police frightfulness be stopped forthwith, that political prisoners be immediately released unconditionally, that all repressive measures be withdrawn, and that an Interim Government responsible to the present Legislature be immediately installed, with instructions to set up a constitution-making body representative of public opinion. Nothing short of this can restore peace and good relations between the Ruler and the people."

Since the above appeal was made H. H. the Maharaja has issued a Proclamation announcing 'responsible Government.'

## Baroda

### INTERIM GOVT. FOR BARODA

The Working Committee of the Baroda State Praja Mandal, which concluded its two-day session, at Baroda on September 21 urged the Maharaja of Baroda to grant Responsible Government to the people.

The Committee also requested the establishment of an Interim Government "within a month of His Highness' arrival in India" in which the Prime Minister and his Council would be responsible to and enjoy the confidence of the State Darasabha.

The Committee put forth the following demands:

(1) That the Dara Sabha be given an elected President immediately.

(2) That His Highness the Maharaja as soon as he returns to India should take up the question of internal reforms and should make a declaration establishing a constitution body elected on the principle of adult franchise to work out a constitution.

(3) That an Interim Government be established in the meantime (within a month of His Highness' arrival in India) in which the Prime Minister and his Council will be responsible to and enjoy the confidence of the Dara Sabha.

### BARODA'S HELP TO REFUGEES

About 10,000 refugees from Sind are shortly arriving in Okha Port in Baroda State, it is learnt.

The Baroda State authorities, it is understood, have agreed to make temporary arrangements for providing food and shelter for these refugees. They have, however, pleaded their inability to the Government of India to settle the refugees permanently in the State in view of the critical food situation and the non-availability of cultivable lands where these refugees could be settled.

## Travancore

### MAHARAJA'S PROCLAMATION

In a proclamation issued on September 4 H.H. the Maharaja of Travancore has conferred on his subjects complete Responsible Government, of wide scope, and of a character such as not been attempted so far, in any other Indian State.

It authorises the establishment of a body elected on the basis of universal adult franchise, to consider and submit a draft for the revision, or modification, of the present constitution with a view to the establishment of responsible Government.

The proclamation, which ranks with the historic temple entry proclamation, issued by Maharaja in November 1936, is hailed by all sections of Travancoreans as their great charter of political emancipation.

### REFORMS COMMITTEE

On September 17 the Government of Travancore announced the personnel of the preliminary Constitutional Committee to frame rules and allied matters envisaged in the Royal Proclamation.

The Government have accepted the following names for constituting a small committee announced in the Press communique dated September 4, 1947:

Messrs. T. M. Varghese, A. J. John, C. Kesaven, P. S. Nataraja Pillai, A. Thanu Pillai (all State Congress), M. Govindan, (President S.N.D.P. Yogam), T. A. Abdulla, G. Ravi Varma, P. Vivekananda (President, All-Travancore Hindu Mahasabha), A. P. Varghese, T. M. Chidambaranatha Pillai (President, Nanjinad Agriculturists' Association, Travancore Vellala Association and South Travancore Chamber of Commerce) and the Legal Remembrancer to the Government.

The first seven names are State Congress and the succeeding seven are from communal and other interests, and the Legal Remembrancer is the Constitutional Expert, with no vote.

**Cochin****FULL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT**

The Maharaja of Cochin has announced the establishment of full responsible government in the State with effect from August 29 under the Premiership of Mr. Panampalli Govinda Menon. Onam Day—a great Malabar festival day—was chosen for the inauguration of the new reforms.

The Maharaja promulgated an act entitled, the Government of Cochin (Amendment) Act, under which for the first time all administrative control has been transferred to a council of elected ministers. These powers were hitherto exercised by the Dewan.

The portfolios have also been re-allocated.

**Patiala****PATIALA STATE'S OFFER TO SIKHS**

The Patiala Government have announced in a communique that they are prepared to absorb two lakhs of refugees from Western Punjab.

Announcing this, the Government say that as agriculture is the primary occupation of the people in the State, they would be able to take mostly agriculturists and, therefore, invite Sikhs to take advantage of this offer. Sikhs from Bahawalpur State are also invited to settle down in Patiala. Those State subjects who may have previously migrated are now welcome to return to their homes.

**Rewa****REWA RULER'S OFFER**

The Rewa Ruler, Maharaja Martandsinghji, has made an offer to the Government of India to accommodate 10,000 Punjab refugees in the State, in addition to 300 already sheltered. The Maharaja has appointed a Special Officer to look after the refugees and has agreed to absorb as many refugees as possible in Industries and Public Works Department.

**Kashmir****STANDSTILL PACT WITH PAKISTAN**

A "standstill" agreement has been reached between the Pakistan Government and the States of Kashmir and Bahawalpur for the continuance of all administrative arrangements and agreements previously in force.

**Junagadh****JUNAGADH'S ATTITUDE**

Declaring that Junagadh's accession to Pakistan was a "danger to the peace of India", His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar demanded that on such a vital issue the Nawab of Junagadh should abide by his people's wishes. A plebiscite should be held, the sooner the better—within a fortnight at the most.

The Jam Sahib alleges that Junagadh forces have already violated Indian sovereignty and territory by going into Babariawad, which State had after detachment from Junagadh, acceded to and whose accession had been accepted by the Dominion of India. "If a similar encroachment takes place in Mangrol, which is another State which has acceded to India, we shall have two cases in which Junagadh forces will have taken the offensive and violated the sovereignty of India. If in spite of these encroachments the Indian Dominion keeps quiet, then further encroachments will be made and there will be no end to this process."

**General****STATES' PLEDGE TO THE UNION**

The Ministry of States has received numerous telegrams from the Governments of the acceding States pledging their solid support to the Dominion Government in the checking of lawlessness and the rehabilitation of the refugees from Pakistan. The offer of support, it is learnt, includes the placing of troops at the disposal of the Dominion Government, arrangements to receive evacuees and the patrolling of the lines of communications in the disturbed area.



# INDIANS OVERSEAS

## South Africa

### MRS. PANDIT ON INDO-SOUTH AFRICAN DISPUTE -

A warning that unless the Indo-South African dispute regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union is settled by the General Assembly, "the conflict may spread to a wider sphere," was given by Mrs. V. L. Pandit, to the General Assembly of the United Nations at Flushing, Meadows, on September 19.

Addressing the crowded Assembly Hall she asserted, "A denial that discrimination had been practised against Indians in South Africa is not a serious or convincing reply to the General Assembly."

"The recent correspondence between the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions reveals India's anxiety to reach a fair and honourable settlement on this issue. It concerns not only the relations between the two Dominions. Unresolved, it may spread misrepresentation and conflict over a much wider sphere, because of its basically racial character."

### U. N. DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA

On September 21 Justice Fazli Ali (India) served notice in the United Nations Steering Committee that India would move that the Indian-South African dispute should go straight to the General Assembly without further discussion in the Political Committee.

Justice Fazli Ali asked that the item should bypass the Political Committee and be debated in the General Assembly, but M. Trygve Lie Secretary-General of U.N. pointed out that no item could go straight to the Assembly without passing through the Committee stage.

Justice Ali asked: "Are we entitled to raise the point that there should be no further discussion in Committee?"

The President of the General Assembly, Senor Aranha said: "Yes."

## Canada

### CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

Dr. D. P. Pandia told the U.P.A. that Canada's action in granting citizenship to 210 Indians in British Columbia who had entered Canada illegally established Canada as a leader among the nations actively fighting world discrimination against Indian nationals.

Dr. Pandia, who has been working throughout the Western Hemisphere on behalf of Indian nationals, said: "The action of the Canadian Government comes as a generous gesture at a time when the people of India are achieving the full status of nationhood. Indian Government leaders as well as the Indians in Canada will view the action as strengthening the present happy relations between the senior Dominion and the two new Dominions of Pakistan and India. The action serves as an example to the Government of the Union of South Africa which at the present time denies the elementary rights of domicile to a quarter-million Indians."

Dr. Pandia said Canada's action will also serve to strengthen India's case before the United Nations Assembly.

## Malaya

### INDIAN LABOUR IN MALAYA

Malayan rubber circles stated that they were "quite unconcerned" at the warning that no more Indian labourers would be allowed to emigrate if their wages were not increased.

The serious financial situation of the industry, for which they blamed the United States synthetic rubber subsidy, made it impossible to meet Indian demands for increased wages at present.

About 100,000 Indian, Chinese and Malay workers in the plantations controlled by the United Planting Association of Malaya staged an one-day strike against a proposal to cut contractual rates by 20 per cent and the failure to meet Indian wage demands.

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### DELHI LEADERS' APPEAL

The surrender of some unlicensed arms by Muslims on September 20 was the first sign of response to Mahatma Gandhi's untiring efforts to restore amity between the communities in Delhi. Sikhs and Hindus were steeped in distrust against Muslims, who, they feared, possessed large quantities of such arms.

Leaflets in Urdu appealing for surrender of illegal arms have been widely distributed in the city. Sixty Muslim elders have signed the appeal, which states:

(1) We shall leave no stone unturned for effecting surrender of unlicensed arms; (2) We are loyal citizens of the Indian Union; (3) We shall combat all attempts to disturb our Union; (4) We expect our Government to put down all lawlessness.

Joint appeals signed by leaders of various communities have also been distributed,

### MINISTERS AND THEIR CRITICS

Under the caption "Task Before Ministers" Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Harijan*:

I have before me quite a number of letters fiercely criticising what they consider to be their luxurious life. They accuse them too of favouritism, even nepotism, I know that much criticism comes from ignorance. Ministers should not be sensitive. They should take in good part even censorious criticism. They would be surprised if I were to send them the letters I receive; probably, they received worse. Be that as it may, the moral I draw from them that the critics expect much more from these chosen servants of the people than from others in the way of simplicity, courage, honesty and industry. In this matter we cannot imitate the English rulers of the past, except perhaps in industry and discipline. The whole purpose of this note will be served if on the one hand the Ministers profit by valid criticism and the critics learn to be sober and precise about their facts.

Inaccuracy or exaggeration spoils a good case.

### FOODGRAINS COMMITTEE

The Government of India have appointed a Committee to examine the present position in regard to foodgrains in India, and the prospective position in the next five years, in the light of consideration of production, procurement, imports, distribution and controls and advise the Government on (1) the measures which can be taken to increase domestic procurement and production, (2) the extent to which reliance can and should be placed on imports and in the light of the above, (3) the modifications which may be necessary in the foodgrains policy so far pursued.

### BOUNDARY AWARD

The Government of India intend to seek to modify the terms of the award of the Bengal and Punjab Boundary Commission by such methods as may be found suitable, says a notification in the Gazette of India extraordinary.

The Government state that though they consider the awards unsatisfactory and unreasonable in certain parts, it was only because there was an agreement between the parties to abide by the decisions of the Commission that they proposed for the present to accept the boundary determined by them.

### WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH FORCES

It remains the firm intention of the British Government to withdraw all British armed forces from the two Dominions of India and Pakistan by the end of the year, says *Reuter*. The speed of the withdrawal of the forces from India, we are told, is conditioned largely by the transport position.

## Utterances of the Day

### MAHATMA GANDHI'S WARNING

Addressing a Prayer meeting in Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi made a feeling reference to the sad plight of the refugees.

He had heard that convoys of Hindus and Sikhs were pouring in from West Punjab into the East—57 miles in length. It made his brain reel to think how this could be.

Such a happening was unparalleled in the history of the world, and it made him, as it should make all, hang their heads in shame. This was no time to say who had done more wrong and who less. It was time to put a stop to this madness.

Some said to Mahatma Gandhi that every Muslim in the Indian Union was loyal to Pakistan and not to India. He would deny the charge.

Muslim after Muslim had come and said the contrary to him. In any event the majority here need not be frightened of the minority. After all four and half crores of Muslims in India were spread over the length and breadth of the land. Muslims in villages were harmless and poor, as in Sevagram. They had no concern with Pakistan. Why turn them out? he asked.

As for the traitors, Mahatma Gandhi, continuing said, if there were any, they could always be dealt with by the law. Traitors were always shot, as happened in the case even of Mr. Amery's son, though Mahatma Gandhi admitted that was not his law.

Others said that some Muslim officials were being kept here in order to keep all Muslims in India loyal to Pakistan. Some said that Muslims looked upon all Hindus as kaffirs. Learned Muslims had told Mahatma Gandhi that this was wholly incorrect. Hindus were as much followers of inspired scriptures as Muslims, Christians and Jews. In any event, he appealed to Hindus and Sikhs to shed all fear of Muslims from their hearts, to be kind to them, to invite them to return and settle

in their old homes and to guarantee them protection from hurt. He was sure that in this way they would get the desired response from the Muslims of Pakistan, even from the border tribes across the frontier.

This, Mahatma Gandhi emphasised, was the way to peace and life for India. He said:

"To drive every Muslim from India and to drive every Hindu and Sikh from Pakistan would mean war and eternal ruin for the country. If such a suicidal policy is followed in both the States, it will spell the ruin of Islam and Hinduism in Pakistan and the Union. Good alone can beget good, love befriends love. As for revenge, it behoves man to leave the evil-door in God's hands. I know no other way."

### NEHRU'S CALL TO THE TROOPS

Broadcasting to the Armed Forces on Sept. 18 the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, said Indian soldiers who had fought with great gallantry in the past in many parts of the world, had now assumed a new role as soldiers of a free State. That was a fact of profound significance, for, while freedom had brought a new sense of dignity, and given the people a new sense of pride it had also laid upon them, and particularly upon the Armed Forces, many new responsibilities.

The Prime Minister asked every soldier to bear in mind that he was no longer merely a member of the Armed Forces, but a soldier of free India, who had it in his power to increase or lower the prestige of his country.

Pandit Nehru continued: "We should all remember that service of the country comes first. If the country is strong and prosperous, then the people also will be strong and prosperous. But who lives if India dies?"

He emphasised that, the only test was that they lived in the country and served it, and did not look to any other country.

He asked the soldiers to discharge their duties impartially, bearing in mind that it was their function to maintain peace, to protect the people, and to defend the country when it was in danger.

## SIR MIRZA ON EXCHANGE OF POPULATION

Sir Mirza Ismail, former Dewan of Mysore, in a statement issued on September 14, expressed the view that "the exchange of population is the most disastrous thing possible—ruinous and unjust to individuals and also politically and economically ruinous both to India and Pakistan."

Referring to the partition of India, Sir Mirza said: "It has been hoped that partition of India, accepted by many of us so reluctantly and unhappily out of necessity, might take place in peace. That has not been so as some of us feared. In certain parts of India there has been savagery, bloodshed and destruction that could never have been thought possible in our country. History will, in emphatic terms, condemn the blood-guiltiness of those who have long educated their followers in ideas of violence and contempt for law and order.

"The recent massacre and destruction has aroused such bitterness in various communities as cannot easily pass away. Perhaps the only hope of reconciliation and beginning of a new unity, social and political, lies in such an appeal to the feelings as can be made by the greatest of men, Mahatma Gandhi. It may be that this will be the crowning achievement of Mahatma Gandhi's life."

Referring to the immediate problem Sir Mirza said: "The first problem in the disturbed parts of India now is to restore and make more secure than before harmony between the different communities. The minorities must be enabled to stay where they are with confidence. In every place the existence of these minorities and their co-operation is essential to the prosperity of the State. Only the spirit of justice and friendliness on the part of the majority leaders can bring about contentment and co-operation."

## CONGRESS AND MINORITIES

An assurance to the minorities that the Congress Government will continue to protect to the best of its ability their citizen rights against aggression is given by the Congress Working Committee in a statement issued on September 24. At the same time, it is emphasised that the Government expects from the minorities the same allegiance and loyalty to the State as from the majority community.

The Working Committee reiterated that the present disaster had not made any difference to the fundamental nationalist character of the Congress.

## JOINT ELECTORATES FOR LOCAL BODIES

All elections to the local bodies in the Province of Bombay will, in future, be held on the basis of joint electorates, says an official announcement.

The Government of Bombay is undertaking the necessary legislation, which will be introduced in the current session of the Bombay Legislative Assembly and will be given top priority.

All elections to municipalities having separate electorates and to local boards, due in the near future, will be postponed.

## ARMS AMONG RECORDS

An A. P. I. message from Delhi reveals that about noon on September 18,

a truck containing official records arrived at Block C-2 opposite the south block of the Secretariat where an office of the Pakistan Defence Department is situated. Before unloading his vehicle, the driver reported that the butt end of a gun was visible from one of the damaged boxes in the truck.

The police on being informed, arrived on the scene and examined the box. Besides official records it was found to contain one shot gun, 75 cartridge and a dagger. A routine check of other boxes in Block C-3 followed and in one of them cartridges, empty shells, gun-powder and other material used for filling cartridges were found. The police seized all these arms.

# Educational

## UNIVERSITY IN FREE INDIA

In his last convocation address to the graduates of the Bombay University, Sir John Colville, Governor, welcomed the transfer of power to India. He laid emphasis on the new responsibilities of the university that the dawn of Independence has brought upon them.

The university should, he said, become the nurseries of leadership and contribute towards the reconciliation to eastern and western thought and promote the peace of the world.

## PRIVATE CANDIDATES

A correspondent complains that the newly established Rajputana University does not allow private candidates within its jurisdiction to appear in University examinations. Ordinarily it is an unhealthy practice to allow private candidates to appear in such examinations except when a student has undergone his course but failed in the examination. Educationists are almost unanimous that it is the study and training in the colleges that really matters. The examination is merely a method of ascertaining that the students have acquired a minimum degree of proficiency during the course of training.

It is the contention of the correspondent that Rajputana is a very backward province and the colleges are not sufficient to accommodate a large number of students. To stimulate private study in these circumstances is desirable.

## INDIA AND WORLD EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Mr. K. G. Saiedain, Educational Adviser to the Bombay Government, has been deputed by the Government of India to attend the Conference on Fundamental Education in China organised under the auspices of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

## SIND UNIVERSITY

For the protection of Hindu culture and religion, the Sind University has constituted a special Board of Studies distinct from the one set up for Islamic Studies.

The Board consists of Sadhu T. L. Vaswani, Swami Ranganathananda, Prof. Phonwani, Dr. Hemandas Wadhvani and Mr. Tuljeram.

Two other boards of studies, one for Sanskrit and Marathi and another for Gujarati, have also been formed for the same purpose.

Besides these boards, the Sind University has appointed three committees to advise it on safeguards on matters affecting Hindus, Parsis and Christians.

## SEPARATE UNIVERSITY FOR ASSAM

The Assam Legislative Assembly last month unanimously passed the Gauhati University Bill, which proposes to establish a teaching, residential and affiliating University at Gauhati. Under the provisions of the Bill the Government shall contribute annually to the University a sum of not less than Rs. 5,00,000 to meet the recurring expenses of the University.

The Premier, Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi who moved the passing of the Bill, assured the minorities that the University would safeguard their interests. Muslim culture would receive due consideration. He discouraged the tendency to bring in the question of communal representation and said that he considered it to be sinful to divide the proposed University into numerous communal compartments.

## DISMISSED MADURA TEACHERS

The Director of Public Instruction, Madras, has allowed the appeals for reinstatement filed by the teachers of the Municipal Elementary Schools in Madura, who were dismissed from service when they went on strike recently. All the 575 teachers are reinstated immediately.

## HIGH COURT'S ROLE IN FREE INDIA

Mr. M. C. Chagla, acting Chief Justice of Bombay, speaking at a reception held in his honour by the Progressive Group, on September 14 declared that the High Court of Bombay stood as the palladium for the liberty of the subjects, where even the poorest man could feel confident that justice would be done.

Replying to the tributes paid by a galaxy of legal luminaries which included, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. K. M. Munshi, he said that he was fully aware of the onerous responsibilities of his new office of Chief Justice during the period of transition, when a political party had become the governing body of the country. "We are launching upon a democratic spirit where there will not be concentration, but distribution of power, distribution between the Judiciary and Executive too so that there shall be no encroachments upon the rights and liberties of subjects."

"We are passing through a time when lawlessness is abroad," Mr. Chagla added, "and it is essential that at a time like this, there should be an institution like the High Court in the Province, which will be above all communal considerations and be able to maintain detachment and administer law without fear or favour."

Dr. Jayakar said that he had no doubt that the first Indian Chief Justice of Bombay would hold the balance between popular rights and encroachments of executive authority.

"In these days of transition, when a political party becomes the Government of the country, its works more and more enorous. It has to realise that it is no more a political party but a governing body responsible for the well-being of the entire country, including its political enemies", he said.

## HIGH COURT FOR ASSAM

The Assam Legislative Assembly unanimously accepted a resolution moved by the Premier, Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, for the early establishment of a High Court for Assam.

The Premier said that the scheme was prepared by the Advocate-General. The recurring expenditure would be Rs. 50,000 annually and the provisional estimate of non-recurring expenditure for the construction of a library and building was five lakhs of rupees. It was proposed to locate the High Court at Gauhati.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Muhammad Saadullah, said that the establishment of the High Court would not be a burden on the Provincial Exchequer, but would bring additional revenue to the province.

## BOMBAY ORDINANCE AGAINST BLACK MARKET

The Governor-General of India has given sanction to the Bombay Government's new measure to deal with black market operations in the province of Bombay.

A five-clause Ordinance, the measure prescribes a minimum of six months' imprisonment and a maximum of seven years for offences of black-marketing and allied anti-social activities. A fine of an "unlimited amount" is also prescribed under the Ordinance.

## ARREST OF BRITISH MILITARY OFFICERS

Two high-ranking British military officers were arrested on September 20 in Jubbulpore following a surprise search of their residences and reported recovery of several unlicensed firearms and a large quantity of ammunition.

The arrested officers were to leave for Pakistan shortly.

# Insurance

## SETH VITHALDAS KANJI ON INSURANCE

Presiding over the sixteenth Annual General Meeting of the Indian Globe Insurance Co., Ltd., the Chairman, Seth Vithaldas Kanji, leading city business magnate echoed the aspiration of Indian Insurance companies in free India: "Insurance, as you are aware, is a part of our invisible imports today which requires to be converted into an invisible export to aid our balance of trade, and if proper assistance is forthcoming from the Central Government, I have every hope that our Indian insurance companies will now be in a position to cater for the insurance requirements of the neighbouring countries and thus achieve this end." This is the programme which free, or better say united, India is capable of discharging with efficiency and care in the future, that is after she has attained a high degree of self-sufficiency in the economic field to improve the standard to help promote the progress of both industry and agriculture, making the common man recognise the importance of insurance as a social necessity; and the popularisation of insurance business depends not only on the financial strength of the community but also on the availability of quick service as active-co-operation from both private enterprise and the State. The creation of an institution, similar to the Chartered Insurance Institute in the U.K., is an urgent need.

## RIOT RISK INSURANCE SCHEME

The Government of India, it is understood, do not propose to proceed with the compulsory riot risk insurance for the present.

Representations were made to the Government of India some time ago by a number of trade associations stressing the need of formulating a scheme to cover riot risks. They have been informed that it is not proposed to put into effect the scheme for the present.

## INSURANCE PROSPECTS

Insurance Companies in India, particularly those with Head Offices in Bengal, passed through a difficult year in 1946, on account of the political uncertainty and the prevalence of riots, says *Capital*. The accounts for the year ended 31st December, 1946, of the *Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society Ltd.*, show that the Society, which has underwritten progressively increasing new business for the last several years, suffered a comparative check and the new business was Rs. 12'40 crores which is only slightly higher than the previous year's Rs. 12'10 crores. It is however clear that business cannot indefinitely go on increasing particularly in these post-war years when inflationary conditions are fast disappearing. It is however a matter of satisfaction that though big policies have become much less frequent, insurance has permeated among the small income groups, where the protection afforded by insurance is much more needed.

## INSURANCE IN INDIA

Of all the civilized countries of the world, India has the lowest *per capita* "insurance", states the Post-War Sub-Committee of the Insurance Advisory Committee. It urges concerted measures to make the public acquainted with the benefits of insurance, and more "insurance minded." For this purpose the setting up of an organisation jointly by all associations of insurers in India and supported by a levy from them is recommended. Insurers who are not members of any of the associations should also be invited to join the organisation and contribute to its expenses.

In a minute of dissent, one of the members of the Sub-Committee suggests that as insurance is a social service, the State should bear the expenses of publicity work.

## ALLOCATION OF FINANCES

An Expert Committee to draft the financial provisions of the Indian Constitution, it is understood, is to be appointed. This Committee will have to report before the next session of the Constituent Assembly when the draft constitution will be presented for adoption.

A committee, it is learnt, will have to take into consideration the complex problems of financial relations between the Centre on the one hand and the Provincial Governments and the Indian States which acceded to the Indian Union on the other. Memoranda are to be invited from the Central Government as well as Provincial and State Governments on the existing system and suggestions for a modification of the Government of India Act (1935) to suit the new constitution. It is pointed out that the financial requirements of both Provincial and State Governments are likely to be much larger than in the past in order to promote schemes of national economic development. At the same time, it is also considered imperative that the Central Government should have a strong financial basis in keeping with the desire to have a strong Centre.

Under the new constitution, residuary powers vest in the Centre so far as only the Provinces are concerned. In view of this, the question arises whether the provincial lists should be strengthened by the addition of any specific taxes.

In order to fit the States into the general picture, existing agreements between them and the Centre as, for example, those with regard to excise and customs, will have to be taken into consideration. The Committee will also have to examine the question of federal grants to the units, made either by way of subvention, sharing of the proceeds of particular taxes or *grants-in-aid*.

## TAXATION IN NEW DOMINIONS

The Governments of India and Pakistan have entered into an agreement for the avoidance of double taxation of income chargeable in the two Dominions according to their respective laws, says a Press *communiqué*.

The main feature of this agreement is that an assessee, to whom the taxation acts of both the Dominions apply, will not have to pay tax on his entire income in both Dominions, and then apply for relief, or refund in each of the two Dominions. Instead, each Dominion Government will assess only such part of the income as accrues, or is deemed to accrue, in its own area, as specified in the schedule to the agreement. Where a Dominion, under the operation of its laws, assesses any income in excess of what is specified in the schedule, that Dominion would allow an abatement of tax equal to the low amount of tax payable in either Dominion on such excess.

As regards the refund, or adjustment of the excess profits tax deposit, and advance payment of income-tax and excess profits tax it has been agreed between the two Governments that the liability for repaying the amount to the assessee would rest on the Government with whom the file of the assessee was on August 15, 1947, or to whom the file may be transferred by agreement after that date.

## SIR C. DESHMUKH ON ECONOMIC UNITY OF INDIA

Sir Chintaman Deshmukh, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, told the annual general meeting of the Bank at Calcutta that it was not unlikely that until a final settlement was reached between the Indian Union and Pakistan and the two Dominions were in a position to take over complete responsibilities in economic matters, a standstill agreement for the continuance of the existing economic relations and machinery would be arrived at between the successor Governments.



# Women's Page

## WOMEN IN FREE INDIA

"In no country in the world had such honour been bestowed on womanhood as was done in India recently by the appointment of three women to most responsible key positions of Governor, Minister of Health in the Central Government, and Ambassador", observed Begum Mir Amiruddin, M.L.A. addressing the members of the Lady Willingdon Training College Union Madras, last month.

Begum Mir. Amiruddin added that while in Great Britain the question of equal pay for equal work created an uproar in Government circles some years ago, the then Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, even threatening to resign on that issue and while in the United States the Senate rejected last year the proposed constitutional amendment to establish equal rights for women, the principle of equal pay for equal work was being incorporated as one of the fundamental principles of governance in our country. All this advance here was due to the fact that our men had come to realise that the whole nation would gain strength by granting to the women their legitimate rights.

Begum Amiruddin pointed out that the independent India offered to women tremendous opportunities and possibilities in every field of activity. Time had arrived when women should no longer look forward to favour and privileges and to being pushed up to places of importance when they did not deserve them. They should remember that the freedom that had been achieved carried with it great responsibilities and every woman should help in solving the problems of illiteracy, disease and distress now prevalent. The speaker suggested that the women of the leisured classes should be conscripted for social service, just as a portion of one's wealth was taken away by the State in the shape of income-tax for furthering national welfare.

## DR. MISS JYOTIRMOYEE

Passing Junior Cambridge from St. Theresa's High School, Calcutta, Miss Jyotirmoyee, says the *Modern Review*, entered the University of Chicago in 1937. Receiving B.A., in Sociology in August, 1937, she continued for M.A., in Sociology with a minor in Anthropology, her M.A., dissertation (thesis) being "The Hindu System of Caste in the Province of Bengal in India." She received M.A., in 1942 and continued for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology with a minor in Anthropology. She got the Ph.D. for her dissertation on "The Social Categories of 'Friendship,' a comparative study of friendship as related to the social grouping in six societies on a range of simple to complex. She did field work in Chicago and in a small middle western town of the U.S.A. and received the Ph.D., degree in June 1946.

She was on the staff as a paid employee in several research projects in the University from 1943 to 1945. Farther, she was a Reader and a Teaching Assistant in the Department of Sociology from 1944 to March 1947, and also taught a course in Social Anthropology for three months in 1945.

Born on September 14, 1922, in a progressive family in Calcutta, she is the grand-daughter of Kaviraj Satish Chandra Sarma of Behala and a daughter of the late Dr. Jagajyoti Sarma, M.B., of Sahapur, Behala.

## MARGARAT TRUMAN

Margarat Truman, the U. S. President's daughter, who has taken up a career as a concert singer will earn £20,000 a year—£5,000 more than her father!

## ENGLISH: A WORLD LANGUAGE

English is now by far the most widely used language in the world. It is the current tongue of more than 200,000,000 people in the British Empire and the United States, and probably several more millions know it slightly. It is known to most educated Germans, Dutch and Scandinavians. In its pidgin form ("pidgin" being the Chinese corruption of "business") it is *lingua franca* of all Malaysia and the China Coast.

Yet a hundred and fifty years ago English ran fourth in list to Russian, French and German, in that order. In 1600 there were only about 5,500,000 English speakers: and as recently as 1850 no more than 51,000,000.

## CALCUTTA EDITORS' RESOLVE

Twenty-four prominent newspapermen of Calcutta on September 3, issued a statement placing on record their emphatic condemnation of the rioting which was taking place in the city and which, they had no doubt, was hooliganism, pure and simple. In the name of Mahatma Gandhi, whose precious life was at stake, and in the name of humanity appealed to the citizens of Calcutta to make it a point that goondas, wire-pullers and rumour-mongers were silenced and overpowered in every ward and mohalla of the city.

## FOLK SONGS IN TAMIL

Inaugurating a series of weekly lectures on "Folk Songs in Tamil" by Mr. K. V. Jagannathan, under the auspices of the Y.M.I.A., Madras Mr. A. Srinivasaraghavan explained that folk Songs really expressed the soul of a nation, since they were the spontaneous out-pourings of the finer instinct of the people from generation to generation. Mr. K. V. Jagannathan speaking in Tamil, said the folk songs were the natural inner voice of the masses, picturing to us in all simplicity their innate artistic sense and culture.

## LEAGUE PAPER'S TRIBUTE TO GANDHIJI

"All Calcutta citizens, Muslims especially, will salute Gandhiji for his unimaginably great efforts to stop the carnage in the city," observed the *Morning News* (Muslim League) in an editorial. In Calcutta Gandhiji rose to heights of immortal greatness. He demonstrated there that he was as much concerned with the welfare of Muslims as of Hindus; that his heart beats equally in the matter of the sufferings of Muslims as of Hindus.

Calcutta's Muslims who constitute a minority of 23 per cent. of the city's population, will ever remain indebted to this great humanitarian for the personal interest he took in their welfare and safety. He was ready to die so that they may live peacefully in the city. Calcutta must now prove worthy of Gandhiji.

## GANDHIJI'S WARNING

Mahatma Gandhi told friends who were making themselves responsible for the break of his fast that if communal frenzy broke out in Calcutta again, he might have to go on an irrevocable fast. This has been revealed in an account of the fast, issued by Mahatma Gandhi's Secretary, Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose.

Mahatma Gandhi also told them that the present fast was meant to activate the better, peace-loving and wise elements in society, to rescue them from mental sluggishness and make goodness active.

## DR. T. R. CHINTAMANI

Dr. T. R. Chintamani whose death occurred last month was appointed Sanskrit lecturer of the Madras University in 1930. His work was appreciated in all centres of research in and outside India. He was also connected with the Sanskrit Academy and the Kuppuswami Research Institute, Madras, and with the All-India Oriental Conference.

#### MRS. NAIDU'S ADDRESS TO MEDICAL STUDENTS

An advice to future doctors to start on their professional career with faith, hope and charity was given by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Governor of the United Province.

Addressing the students of the King George Medical College at Lucknow, Mrs. Naidu said that politics was the last thing to be desired in nation building and for that, she said, they did not want to create new problems but to solve the old ones. The future doctors should consider themselves indispensable to free India and should start on their professional career with faith, hope and charity.

#### CURE FOR SUDDEN DEAFNESS

A new treatment which restores hearing to victims of sudden deafness has been discovered by Drs. Olav E. Hallberg and Bayard T. Horton of the Mayo Clinic.

The treatment consists of daily injections into the veins of a chemical called histamine. First use of the chemical to relieve deafness was made two years ago. This was in the case of a 45 year old man who came to the Mayo Clinic the day after he had suddenly gone completely deaf in his right ear.

He was given histamine injections daily for 12 days. On the seventh day, when there still had been no change in his hearing, the doctors were about to give up. They continued the treatment, however, and on the ninth day the man was able to hear with his previously deafened ear. After the twelfth treatment, his hearing was normal. An examination 18 months later showed he still could hear normally.

#### CURE FOR EPILEPTIC FITS

Leningrad scientists have discovered that epileptic fits can be controlled by anaesthetics. They experimented with cats using epilepsy-inducing agents such as camphor oil and concentrated bile. They found that anaesthetised cats were unaffected by the injection of epilepsy-inducing agents.

#### VANASPATI : IS IT INJURIOUS TO HEALTH ?

"It is surprising why the research on Vanaspati conducted at Iztanagar should show adverse effects contrary to all previous researches. There should be a thorough research and investigation before it can be finally decided whether Vanaspati is injurious to human health or not," say Mr. S M Dahanukar, B.E., S.H. (U.S.A.), and Mr. S.M. Mistry, M.Sc., A.I., I.Sc. in a statement to the Press.

They add: "Vanaspati is made by hydrogenating vegetable seed oils such as groundnut oil, cotton seed oil, mustard oil, etc. This process converts the unsaturated fractions of liquid into saturated compounds of solid which may be detected in pure ghee on analysis. It shows that as far as the saturated composition is concerned there is very little difference between hydrogenated oil and pure ghee although the latter contains in addition some other saturated fatty acids.

#### ORANGE JUICE—A BREAKFAST "CHASER"

Americans who take orange juice as a breakfast appetizer are advised to take their citrus or other fruits after the morning meal if they expect the juices to benefit their teeth.

"Research has shown," said Dr. Joseph F. Folker of Tufts College Dental School, "that fermentable carbohydrates such as starches and sugars are most likely to cause tooth decay, unless promptly removed from tooth surfaces, while citrus fruits, apples, and raw vegetables are efficient mouth cleaners and tend to curb decay. These should be served at the end of the meal as salads or desserts whenever feasible."

#### WORLD HEALTH CONFERENCE

The fourth session of the World Health Organisation (Interim Commission) opened at Geneva on August 30. India was represented by Lieut.-Colonel C. Mani from the office of the Director-General of Health Services.

#### DR. JIVARAJ MEHTA

Dr. Jiva Raj Mehta has been appointed Secretary, Ministry for Health, in addition to his duties as Director-General of Health Services.

## LOANS TO BANKS IN EMERGENCIES

The Reserve Bank of India has been authorised to advance loans to all banks in India, scheduled and non-scheduled alike, in times of difficulty against any form of securities, which it may deem sufficient, says a Press Note.

An ordinance amending the Reserve Bank of India Act for this purpose, was published in a Gazette of India Extraordinary on September 20.

## WORLD BANK

The Governor of the Central Bank of China, Mr. O. K. Yui, has been elected Chairman of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Four Vice-Chairmen of the Boards of Governors also elected were Mr. N. Sundaresan, Financial Adviser to the Indian Embassy in Washington, French Finance Minister Robert Schuman, British Chancellor of the Exchequer Dalton, and Mr. John Snyder, Secretary of the U. S. Treasury.

## FREEZING ORDER ON BANKS

The West Punjab Governor, by the issue of a fresh Ordinance on September 16 has repealed his previous Ordinance of September 4 imposing restrictions on the removal of assets by banks from the West Punjab and providing for the requisitioning of ownerless houses and utilisation of locked-up stocks of commodities and foodstuffs.

The old Ordinance is replaced by two new Ordinances.

## SIR C. V. RAMAN FOR ADVISORY COUNCIL

The World Bank Advisory Council has recommended that nine persons representing various international industrial, scientific and agricultural organisations be selected to form the Advisory Council of the Bank to serve as Counsellors for a period of two years. They included Sir C. V. Raman of India, and S. K. Ali of China.

## PROTECTION OF RAILWAY PASSENGERS

An Ordinance called the Railways (Protection by Armed Forces) Ordinance, 1947 has been issued to provide enhanced punishments for derelictions of duty by members of the armed forces.

The Ordinance came into force on September 10, the day it was promulgated and extends to all the provinces of India.

By this Ordinance, if any person subject to the Indian Army Act 1911 or the Indian Air Force Act, 1932, whose duty for the time being is to protect from acts of violence any passengers or goods being conveyed upon any railway, fails in the proper performance of that duty, he will be liable, on conviction for such offence by a summary general court martial or a field general court martial, as the case may be, to be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a term extending to ten years, or with death if on the occasion of his offence any loss of human life occurs.

## NEW MEMBER OF RAILWAY BOARD

Mr. F. C. Badhwar, now General Manager of the Oudh has been appointed a Member (Staff), of the Railway Board. Mr B. B. Varma, Additional Superintendent, East Indian Railway, at Allahabad, has been appointed General Manager of the O. T. Railway.

Mr. Badhwar, who joined the E. I. R., on the engineering side in 1925, was the first Indian Secretary to the Railway Board during the years of war. He is the youngest member of the Railway Board.

## CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF RAILWAYS

Mr. K. C. Bakhle, General Manager of the B. B. and C. I. Railway, has been appointed Chief Commissioner of Railways in place of Col. R. B. Emerson who has proceeded on leave prior to retirement.

In order to deal with the problems arising out of the evacuation of refugees, an additional post of Member has been created in the Railway Board.

## ART EXHIBITION IN MADRAS

Declaring open the art exhibition organised in connection with the All-India Industrial, Khadi and Art Exhibition at the Victoria Public Hall, Madras on September 20, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said that the essential function of art was to soothe and lift the soul of man. Art cut across all frontiers, healed all wounds and represented what might be regarded as the universal in man. Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti presided.

Mr. S. N. Chamkur welcomed. Dr. Radhakrishnan and the gathering.

A good collection of oil paintings and work in water colour, chalk and Indian ink, as also some collections of historical interest were on show.

As one entered the Exhibition Hall, one was greeted by *Swatantra Bharati*, a picture of a mother with a child in arm beautifully painted by Mr. S. N. Chamkur. The picture depicts the birth of *Free India*, the mother symbolising Mother India and the child the new-born freedom.

## INDIAN ART

Interest in Indian art has been whetted in London by the news of the coming exhibition at Burlington House and curators of many museums and picture-galleries had lately to answer increasing number of queries about Indian exhibits. In order to satisfy this demand, the keeper of the Oriental antiquities at the British Museum, Basil Gray has planned a small but beautiful exhibition of Indian paintings.

Among the exhibits are Moghul paintings which have been favourites with the British public for many years. Visitors return to view them repeatedly and reproduction for use as Christmas cards are eagerly sought, their bright colours and gay domestic detail giving them the festive touch required. Visitors are also delighted by the portrayal by Indian artists of seventeenth-century British traders looking fat and hot in clothes of the period.

## INDIANISATION OF CALCUTTA TURF CLUB

The Stewards of the Royal Calcutta Turf Club are taking immediate steps for Indianisation of the Club in its various aspects, says Mr. S. K. Basu, President of the Calcutta Race Horse Owners' Association, who has concluded his discussions with the Stewards.

Mr. Basu told the Associated Press of India that at the very outset he gave the Stewards a memorandum in which he said: "While claiming Indianisation we do not, for a moment, suggest that Europeans have not run the institution with a high standard of efficiency nor that Indianisation should be immediate in all sections to the prejudice of that high standard. We recommend that Indianisation should be immediate where it is possible and progressive where it is inevitable—on a 50/50 basis. That can be the only basis for honourable co-operation for running an institution in which the people are interested and concerned."

## INDIAN TEAM TO AUSTRALIA

The Board of Control for Cricket in India has announced that it had been finally decided that Vijay Merchant, India's chosen captain for the Australian tour, will not be able to accompany the team due to the condition of his health.

According to the decision of the Board, taken at its meeting at Delhi on August 15, L. Amarnath will now lead the team.

Accompanying the team will be Prince Duleepsinhji, *Reuter's* correspondent to cover all matches of the team in Australia.

## WALTER HAMMOND

Walter Hammond, the M.C.C. Captain, on the eve of his departure from Australia said: "Cricket in the southern hemisphere has gained thousands of new adherents through our visit, which has revitalised the game and has been very worthwhile. We should have liked to have done better; but leave Australia with warm appreciation of their friendliness towards Great Britain."

#### SCIENTIFIC MAN-POWER COMMITTEE

A special sub-committee of the Scientific Manpower Committee, recently set up by the Government of India with Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar as chairman, has recommended in its interim report certain urgent measures for the immediate improvement and expansion of facilities for scientific and technical training in Indian universities and in special institutions. These measures, which are aimed at the promotion and development of scientific research would, according to the terms of reference of the sub-committee, be given the highest priority and initiated within the next six months.

The recommendations of the sub-committee are in six sections, dealing respectively with scientific education, training of personnel for scientific and industrial research, industrial training, technical training for defence services, shortage of equipment, housing etc., and steps to expedite government projects.

As a matter of general policy for immediate implementation, the committee recommends at the outset that the Government should utilise the existing sources viz., the universities, special institutions and the industrial concerns by helping to create in them adequate facilities for higher education, research and practical training. Such help as is to be given should largely be in the form of grants for the creation of scholarships on a generous scale, the purchase of equipment, the opening of post-graduate departments in the universities which do not have any at the moment and the working of double shifts in places where scientific education is imparted. In addition, the several educational development plans prepared by the Department of Education and others must be pushed through immediately.

#### PROGRESS OF TELEVISION

Television has broken out of its infancy and is now a full-blown industry expected to create 4,000,000 jobs within ten years.

#### UNO FILM FOR INDIA

"People's Charter, the first film of the UNO will be shown to the Indian public in a few weeks' time," said Miss Marion Dix, officer in charge of the visual media of information of the UNO at a press conference in Bombay recently.

Miss Dix said that five centres of visual information would be started before the end of this year. The UNESCO has decided that of these the first should be started in Delhi and another at Shanghai. Film shorts, strips, stills, posters and exhibitions would be produced under the guidance of the local centres for distribution and exhibition in that particular country. The Delhi centre would be engaged in selecting the subjects of film shorts and Miss Dix would act in an advisory capacity on behalf of the UNESCO.

In her activities in this direction, Miss Dix will be assisted by Mrs. Hansa Mehta of the Indian Delegation to UNO, and prominent social workers.

#### INAUGURATION OF 'JAI HIND'

On the freedom day the 15th of August 1947, Sri K. T. Bhashyam, Ex-President, Mysore State Congress, performed the preliminary opening function of the Kannada picture *Jai Hind* at Mallawaram, Bangalore. This film will be produced by the American Pictures, Bangalore.

After invocation and music, the National Flag was hoisted by Sri Bhashyam.

The function terminated with the singing of Vandemataram.

#### FILM PUBLICITY FOR GOVT. ACTIVITIES

For the purpose of producing educational and other informative films for educating the masses, the Government of Bihar have created a film section in the Publicity Department. The film publicity scheme, it is understood, will also aim at providing an opportunity for the publicity of all the departmental activities of Government.

## AUTOMOBILE CONFERENCE

The draft recommendations of the Automobile and Tractor Panel, which was constituted by the Government of India last year, were considered at a conference of Provincial and States representatives held in New Delhi recently.

The conference in general welcomed the proposals of the Panel which emphasize that the development of the automobile industry is essential owing to its strategic importance and that it should be confined to the nationals of the country. A scheme of production has been proposed so that, step by step, the manufacture of automobiles is established in the country within a reasonable period.

The conference was of the view that with the assistance recommended by the Panel, the Indian industry would evolve a suitable process to utilize local industries and raw materials for the purpose, just as other countries like the USA, the UK., France, etc., have developed, through stress and trials, a highly specialized process suiting their local conditions. It was hoped that in course of time India also would have cheap and efficient means of transport made available to a large number of the population.

The report of the Panel is being finalised in the light of the views expressed in the conference.

The Automobile and Tractor Panel consist of Mr. K. C. Mahindra (chairman), Mr. Lalchand Hirachand, Mr. B. M. Birla, Mr. D. R. Sethi, Lt-Col. E. D. Morgan and Mr. Indar Prasad (secretary).

## TINIEST AUTOMOBILE

What is claimed to be the tiniest automobile in the world has been manufactured in Okasa.

It weighs about 50 pounds. The tiny automobile will carry one person at a speed up to 17 miles per hour. It is powered by a 1½ horse-power engine.

It approximately costs Rs. 650.

## PREVENTION OF AIR COLLISIONS

A simple radar warning device that will prevent air collisions and crashing of aircraft into mountains or buildings in bad weather will soon be installed in aircraft of commercial airlines in the United States.

The new instrument, weighing sixteen pounds, is a combination transmitting and receiving set, which is set on the pilot's dashboard in the underside of the plane. Two small antennae on port and starboard sides of the plane send out powerful pulses at the rate of forty a second in all directions except backwards. Travelling at the rate of 500 feet in one millionth of a second the pulses bounce back from any object which strike and actuate a warning light and signal bell. The instrument thus gives timely warnings to the pilot so that he can pull up and proceed to alternate landing field.

## AIR SERVICE BETWEEN PUNJAB AND DELHI

To cope with the additional air traffic caused by the disturbed conditions in the Punjab, Government have arranged for the duplication of the daily service run by the Indian National Airways between Delhi and Lahore. A halt for the service has been arranged at Amritsar from 31st August, 1947. The I.N.A. are also running two weekly services, the Delhi-Lahore-Quetta-Karachi and the Delhi-Lahore-Rawalpindi-Peshawar services. Sixteen services a week will, thus, be available to passengers intending to travel from Lahore to Delhi or *vice versa*.

## LONDON-KARACHI WIRELESS LINK

London will be linked with Karachi, the capital of Pakistan, by a very powerful wireless transmitter, it is learnt.

The new project, which is being worked out by the Pakistan Government, is expected to be pushed through next year. The communication will be established between Karachi and London directly and Karachi will be the terminal wireless station of the Pakistan Government.

## ALL-INDIA, KHADI EXHIBITION

The imperative need for the Indian and Pakistan Governments to have a Central Planning Commission which would examine the possibilities of industrial development in the two Dominions, and devise the means to execute short-range and long-range development plans, was emphasised by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose when he declared open the All-India Industrial, Khadi and Arts Exhibition, at Madras on September 14, organised by the Madras Andhra District Congress Committee.

Addressing the young men and women of South India, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose exhorted them to shoulder the burden of developing this land of theirs along with their comrades in other parts of India in such a way and to such an extent that she might soon become the envy of the world.

## GOVT. TAKES OVER THE M. E. S. C.

An important step in the nationalisation of the electric supply industry in the Province was taken by the Madras Government, when they formally took over on August 20, the Madras Electric Supply Corporation.

This change-over in the management of the M. E. S. C., which would be hereafter known as the Madras Electricity System, was made at a simple and yet significant function held in the premises of the Power Station at Basin Bridge. The premises were decorated.

Mr. M. Bakthavatsalam, Minister for Public Works, handed over to Sir John Dalton, Representative of the Company, a cheque for Rs. 1,33,33,333-5-0 being the agreed initial payment, pending subsequent adjustment.

The documents were signed by Sir John Dalton and Mr. T. A. Verghese representing the M. E. S. C. and the Madras Government respectively.

## MADRAS ZAMINDARI'S BILL

The Madras Government's Bill for the abolition of Zamindari has been published as also two connected bills, one for the reduction of rent and the other for the prevention of alienation of communal and forest lands.

The Revenue Minister, Mr. Kala Venkata Rao, explaining the provisions of the main bill at a press conference said that the compensation proposed under the bill would not exceed Rs. 10 crores. Deploring that the Government were confident of finding the resources for this undertaking, Mr. Venkata Rao said the estates would be acquired is "a matter of months rather than years".

## FARM PRODUCTION

The United States estimates that American farm production at today's high level, takes only two-thirds as much human labour as would have been required in 1920 for a like amount of production.

With 1920 methods farmers would have put in about 30,000,000,000 hours of work for this year's farm production. But owing to advances in technology the job takes about 21,000,000,000 hours this year. However, farmers are now producing about a third more and are doing it in about ten per cent. less time than in World War I. More machines, higher yields per acre of land and per head of livestock and better farming practice are responsible for this gain.

## FINAL SUGARCANE FORECAST

An all-India yield of 5,576,000 tons of raw sugar (gur) is expected during the year 1946-47, according to the Final Sugarcane forecast issued by the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, India. This records an increase of 3 per cent. compared with 1945-46.

The area under sugarcane is estimated at 4,108,000 acres compared with 3,825,000 last year. The condition of the crop is reported to be good. In the U.P. however, the crop suffered from drought and diseases in certain areas.



## UNITED FRONT OF WORKERS

Mr. R. S. Ruikar, a former President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, has announced the formation of a central committee, with himself as the convenor, to organise a "workers' united front" within the Trade Union Congress.

The "front" will endeavour to restore unity in the Trade Union movement "under the banner of the All-India Trade Union Congress, by removing the legitimate, and reasonable objections of the Socialist and Congress leaders, and by making the A.I.T.U.C. the central democratic platform of the Indian working class."

The central committee was formed at a meeting recently under the presidency of Mr. Mukundlal Sarkar. It was attended by members of the Forward Bloc, the Bolshevik Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Bolshevik-Leninist Party, and independent workers not attached to any political group, who had come to Bombay to attend the meeting of the General Council of the A.I. T.U.C.

## THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S LEAD

The central committee includes Mr. Somendra Nath Tagore (Calcutta), Mr. S.C.C. Anthoni Pillai (Madras), Mr. Sheelbhadra Yagee (Bihar), Mr. Upen Sharma (Assam), and Mr. A. R. Siddiqui (East Pakistan).

A statement issued by the members of the central committee states that the fears existing in the minds of certain political Parties, that some of the Trade Unions affiliated to the A.I. T.U.C. are bogus unions, has to be met reasonably.

In the changed political conditions of to-day, the A.I. T.U.C. must function in a manner which will give full expression to the feelings, and aspirations of the Indian working class as a whole, rather than be a forum for the Communist Party to express its political views.

## RE-INDIANISING NAMES

The U.P. Government have decided to re-indianise several geographical names which assumed a corrupted form under British rule in India. The Government feel that these corruptions, which arose out of mispronunciation by foreigners, are an undesirable result of political subjection on the cultural life of the people.

The Ganges will thus again be styled as "Ganga" and the Jumna as "Yamuna". Muttra will be given back its real name of "Mathura", while the 'Vindhyachal' ranges, which according to the legend once upon a time started rising to unbounded heights until the sage Agastiar called a halt, will no longer be "Bindachal" but will reassume their ancient name.

The Government have prepared a list of all towns, rivers and mountains whose names have been revised, and have ordered that the names as now revised should hereafter be used in all official records and correspondence.

## POPULATION FIGURES FOR NEW BENGALS

The new provinces of West Bengal and East Bengal will have populations of 211,94,613 and 391,11,912 respectively under the Boundary Commission's award, according to an analysis made by the Secretary of the Bengal Congress Central Consultative Boundary Committee.

35.14 per cent of the total population of Bengal will be in West Bengal and 64.86 per cent in East Bengal. The percentage of Muslims in West Bengal to its total population will be 25.01. Similarly, the percentage of non-Muslims in East Bengal to the total population of that province will be 29.17.

The area of West Bengal will be 28,033 sq. miles and that of East Bengal 49,409 sq. miles. The density of population per square mile in the two provinces will be 756 and 792 respectively and the population supported per square mile of gross cultivable area, 1030 and 977 respectively.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 48.]

NOVEMBER 1947

[No. 11.]

## INDEPENDENCE : WHAT NEXT?

BY DR PREM NATH, M.A.

(O)

WITH the attainment of Independence India enters a new era which requires setting in of two dynamic processes. The first is to dissociate the unhealthy tendencies which have become our heritage because of us or inspite of us. And the second is to create with utmost sincerity and ceaseless effort the tendencies that will make better India. The burden of this article is therefore to dwell on the above analysis.

### THE PAST

The past, probably because it is past and has not the warmth of the present, has always created illusions and so at least it has done in the case of Indian character. For us the Reality has been either the past or future and seldom present problems, we have either enchantingly sung the song of the glorious past or wishfully brooded on the future. We need be taught to live in the present fully conscious of the past, surely profiting by that and improving upon that. Without the development of this trait in our national character we are sure to allow the tragedies of the past to be committed, which again we have been used to accepting morally or religiously and in any case helplessly. To be sure the entire wealth of our heritage howsoever rich it might be cannot reckon with the fast changing trends of the modern day society in all its aspects. This is in general.

### INDISCIPLINE

And now in particular. For the sake of this brief article let us limit the past to the period of British rule in India and see what legacy it has left behind. The most outstanding feature is the gradual mark of indiscipline in our nation. And that was natural. Our leadership could do no better than employ the mass of people who were hardly educated, for struggle against foreign domination, and most of them could hardly understand the technique of this process. So let us admit that continuous act of that technique, though absolutely necessary at that time, has been partially responsible for causing apathy for discipline. Nor are the masses to blame for it. The whole weight of the foreign domination had completely crushed their very existence and given them pseudo-personalities rid with inferiority fear, lack of confidence and what not.

And now we see the reign of indiscipline raging through the whole country. This sweeping trend should be checked or it will sweep us away. Educational, political, social and press activities should be directed to give training to people on this vital problem. Courses in citizenship need be worked out most methodically to be provided compulsorily to all students in schools and colleges. Similar arrangements should be made for public in general in all towns and cities as also for office

workers in all government departments and industrial concerns. With all the resources at our disposal, we must make an effort to instil the sense of discipline in the behaviour pattern of all young and old, for it must be remembered that the sense of discipline to a very great extent determines the rise and fall of nations. Shall we miss the meaning of it in our practice?

#### CONFLICT

The long course of history on which we have dragged on as slaves is by itself a sufficient factor for depositing 'conflict' as it were, in our minds. Besides, we profess in so many ideals, religious and moral, and our practice so completely takes us away from them that the process of terrific conflict overpowers our national character. And the result is unimaginative approach to reality, dissipated action, and lack of co-ordination amongst groups of people. For all practical purposes, I would rather prefer the system of conditioning the national mind by either lifting the practical level of thought and behaviour to the ideals or bringing down the ideals to workable practices. In any case the glaring disparity between the ideal and practice should be reduced to the minimum possible. It is high time therefore we started thinking daringly about the meaning and implication of religions rather than avoided touching the issue. Our leadership on the whole has not been able either to escape the print of this peculiar feature on their minds. If by misfortune we any time lose our country to any foreign domination in any sense the disease of conflict would have played an overwhelmingly great mischief. Shall we allow it?

#### LEADERSHIP

The gift of democracy is variety of leaders and accordingly a variety of groups of their followers. As there is a very close relationship between the leaders and the led the quality of leadership is bound to affect their followers and as such a conscious effort should be made to train our politicians. There is a need for

instituting training centres for politicians. The meaning of the party system of government which is an inevitable part of democracy should be properly understood. Now that we are an independent country we must realise that we have to lend every co-operation to the party in power. And should we disagree with its programme and activities the only course open to us is to follow the democratic way of educating the people to our line of thinking to replace one party by another. But if we allow the mass of people to use all sorts uncalled for methods for overthrowing a party there will be nothing but chaos and anarchy before us. Too much of drill in irresponsible behaviour is bound to develop into a perpetual trait of rebellion in us and might degenerate into criminal tendencies. While writing this I am fully conscious of the fact that solution of economic problems will automatically dissolve a number of difficulties, but for bringing about that era of equality mass-scale reformation of our minds is necessary. And how is that possible?

#### OUR EDUCATION

For mass-scale reformation of our national character the recourse can be taken to an effective system of education and here it is that the best efforts of the nation should be bent. Our public school system should stand for integrated personalities of young boys and girls. It requires the best brains of the country to draw out a scheme of education and the best machinery to put it into practice.

The whole problem is a gigantic one and nothing short of a right approach to it can help us to overcome the present state of confusion. It is a pity that many of us should have the illusions about "freedom". Our responsibilities are greater now than ever before and it is we alone now who will be responsible for our success or failure as a nation. Let us think and act therefore.

# TAX STRUCTURE IN INDIAN STATES

BY SARDAR M. V. KIBE, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A., (Indore.)

**K**ALIDAS, the National poet of India, in one of his beautiful similes for which he is so well known, describes the basis of the Tax Structure of the Governments in ancient India. He says: "As the Sun draws moisture from the earth, in order to give it back in the shape of the rains, for fertilising the land, and producing the sustenance of the people, so the King levies taxes for utilising them for the good of the people." There is no doubt that this principle is in accordance with even the most democratic ideas of modern Economists. It is true that this ideal was adhered to so long as there was some check on the actions of the Ruler of the land. This was disturbed only when he became autocratic and irresponsible. This happened when indigenous paramountcy was replaced by the foreign.

Another basis for the Tax Structure is the nature of the Government which rules the land. If it is democratic, then its tendency is to levy taxes only to the extent it is able to utilise them for the good of the people. It is true that the first charge on the taxes is one on account of their collection. Next is the charge on account of the maintenance of the Government, including the Ruler or Rulers. Before the British Power introduced uniformity in the governments of the Provinces and States, the Rulers of States were influenced by their officers and the people, but the new circumstances made the Ruler of Indian States feel that the State was a personal property, and maintenance of his own dignity and his necessities and even luxuries were the first charge on the income of the State, although in a democratic government they should be the last. If a Ruler was benevolent, he allotted the remainder of the income of the State after deducting expenses of collection, for the welfare of the State. There are instances on record in which the Ruler granted permanent Sanads for the maintenance of Departments of Public Welfare, like Education and Medical Departments, the idea being that the succes-

sors should at least not reduce the allotment made.

Naturally the Tax Structure is different in Sovereign and Semi-Sovereign States, since there are limitations on the powers of the latter. Sovereign States even are not entirely free to regulate their Tax-Structure according to their wishes. Imperial preferences, and most favoured nation clauses in their Treaties with Foreign Governments, are instances of such limitations. As regards Semi-Sovereign States they have to regulate their Tax-Structure according to the policy of the Central Power, whether federalised or not. The Indian States are at best Semi-Sovereign States; the power of taxation which they possess is limited by the over-riding power of the Imperial or Central Government, in such matters as Border-Customs and Currencies, not to refer to Posts, Telegraphs and Railways. Semi-Sovereign States are also recognised by International Law.

Since the Governments in Indian States are responsible to the Rulers, only, in levying any tax the Ruler has to look to the mood of his subjects. Their last resort is strike, and also Civil disobedience in extreme cases. As might be supposed these are not new methods possessed by the people to remove their grievances but are coming down from ancient times.

The third limitation is whether the Ruler is autocratic or a State is governed in a manner responsible to the people. The King, even though theoretically autocratic, has practically to be more careful in levying taxes than a government, in which the voice of the people prevails, or at least predominates. There are fewer taxes and almost steady, in the former circumstances than in the latter. In the former the field is limited to the taxes which do not obtrude on the people. Another circumstance to which an autocratic Ruler has to look to is the way in which he spends his income. For the sake of appearance at least he has to allot revenue

for maintaining departments of public welfare, like the paraphernalia, which he has for his dignity. In States in which governments are responsible, although not responsible to public opinion, the field, within the general limitation described in a previous paragraph, is a little bit wider.

The main principle underlying the finances of a country is the welfare of its inhabitants, their progress in all walks of life, including the raising of their standard of living, is the acme of Tariffs. The principle of these, subject to handicaps mentioned in the case of the Indian States, is the same as in any country. This is well-known and need not be dilated upon.

The question of Tariffs, or the Tariff Structure, in Indian States is thus much more complicated than, say, in the rest of India. All the same Finance Ministers of Indian States have to see that the two ends meet. But they too cannot provide for unexpected demands due to the personal position of the Ruler. Owing to this mainly, they have to have greater balances kept in their budgets than may seem necessary in other circumstances or places. Accordingly Taxes are levied which may seem unnecessary, having regard to the normal income and expenditure in the budget. Large balances are allowed to be accumulated for specific purposes. But their utilisation and disposal are as uncertain as the yields of a Tax. For the same reason, more

numerous Taxes, although yielding a little revenue individually, have to be enforced.

Little or no attention seems to have been paid by the writers of Text books on Economics to the difficulties that the framers of the Tariff in Indian States have to meet. A body like the Indian Economic Conference, consisting of the elite of Indian Economists will, it is submitted, fail in its function, if it continued to ignore the one fifth population of India and the unique position of the Rulers of Indian States.

No Indian State has yet passed the principles of bureaucratic financing, that prevailed even in the Provinces of India up to the first Congress Ministries. Even most of them were still under the influence of the I.C.S. people. The announcement was made by the Irrigation Minister of Madras that whether an irrigation project yielded any interest on the Capital spent or not, if it was useful to the cultivators, Government will undertake to construct it. This reveals the new spirit, now prevalent, in all countries governed by National Governments. The policy of the I.C.S. was commercial. Not even utilitarian, but philanthropic policy, for raising the standard of living of the people, has to be laid down. Not only in Indian States but all over the country these new principles have to be taught and spread. Among the present Provincial Governments that of Madras seems to have thoroughly grasped them.

## THIS SLIPPERY THING—LIBERTY

BY PROF. P. L. STEPHEN, M.A.

**A**T this great moment in India's history when she has gained independence from foreign domination it must be of interest, and even advantage, to reflect on the struggle that even independent people have had to put up for the gaining and maintenance of their freedom.

For, independence and freedom may not mean the same thing. A country may be independent and yet the people may not

be free. Nazi Germany was independent, but the people were not free. So was it in Fascist Italy. There are those who say that Soviet Russia is so, as well as Franco's Spain and Tito's Yugoslavia. This is because the freedom of the people, which is the freedom of the individual, is an eyesore not only to dictators and pocket dictators, but also to most people in authority. Hence long and persistent

effort is necessary to gain and safeguard this freedom of the individual, which alone is the true liberty of the people.

The history of the long struggle for freedom of even such a people as the English is an excellent example of this fact. By their very nature Anglo-Saxons were lovers of individual freedom. Even when they settled in England they had democratic institutions like the Witan. Their land tenure was unique in that each man could own a certain extent of land in absolute freedom paying no man any kind of tax or duty for it. Besides, as Lord Chatham said later, "The poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the forces of the crown" since every man's house was considered as his castle.

With these characteristics and institutions it is no wonder that the people managed to extract from King John in 1215 the famous Magna Carta, which is indeed a magnificent Charter of Freedom. Its sixty-three chapters have inspired all later charters of freedom. The 39th chapter by itself is a comprehensive guarantee of freedom, as it declares: "No free man shall be seized or imprisoned or dispossessed or outlawed or in any way destroyed. . . . excepting by the legal judgment of his peers or by the laws of the land."

We should have expected that with the winning of the Magna Carta the English people would be enjoying freedom in its full and true form. But in fact the struggle for freedom had to continue. King after king disregarded his promise to obey the provisions of the Charter. King John himself began by-passing his promises. Henry III, even his queen Eleanor, Edward III—all equally flouted the provisions of the Charter by the use of dispensing power, erection of monopolies, exaction of loans, imprisonment of even Members of Parliament for freedom of speech, and a host of other means. In the time of one ruler alone the Magna Carta had to be re-confirmed twenty times so that the people might grant him money. It is

amazing that every time the confirmation was made solemnly, the king declaring:

"So help me God, I will keep all these articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed."

It was in the time of the Tudor monarchs that the freedom of the English was in the utmost jeopardy. They were all so strong and the people were so subservient that there was very little of freedom in the country. Hume says "abject servility never appeared more conspicuously" than in a parliament of Henry VIII. The king got into his hands the power of raising the revenue, controlling the religious habits of the people, and even of having for his mere proclamations the force and effect of parliamentary statute. Queen Elizabeth's position was even worse. Not only in poetry, but also in fact, she was a demi-goddess. "No one even spoke to Queen Elizabeth without kneeling, though occasionally she raised some with waving her hand. Whomever her eyes fell upon, on any occasion, also fell to the knees. Even in her absence, those who covered her table, though persons of quality, neither approached it nor retired from it without kneeling, usually three times." The Queen took advantage of the subservience of the people and there resulted the terrible abuses of the High Commission, the Privy Council and the Star Chamber, as well as the extended use of the Courts Martial, so that the people cried, as they did in the times before the Magna Carta, saying:

"Our Lord God almighty, who seeth all things, seeth that the miserable people are oppressed with all unrighteousness."

With the coming of the Stuarts the struggle of the people against tyranny began to tell. But still it took some generations, the execution of a king and the flight of another, before the promises of the Magna Carta began to be realities. With the Glorious Revolution of 1688, however, and the Declaration of Rights,

the freedom of the people became not only, definitely assured but also truly operative.

Thus even after the Magna Carta, so universally hailed as the bond of freedom, more than four centuries had to pass by before freedom was enjoyed by the people at large in any real way. There were of course still occasions when individual liberty was in danger. But the great principles of liberty were no longer questioned, and the mechanisms of royal tyranny like the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court were gone. Above all, the power of arbitrary imprisonment was wrested from the crown; the Habeas Corpus Act effectively safeguarded personal liberty; the judges were made independent of the king, and the jury was made free of intimidation by the executive.

#### IN AMERICA

It was with these ideas and traditions that the Colonists went over to America, so that when they became independent in 1783 they established their Constitution on the English ideas of freedom. As we in India are now at that stage, it must be interesting to glance at what the Americans did when they became independent of Britain. First of all they drew up a Constitution establishing a federal republic clearly defining the relations between the Centre and the provinces. But even more important than this Constitution were the ten Amendments to the Constitution passed in 1791. Since these form the American Bill of Rights which are the noblest guarantees of freedom in the world it must be good for us to note at the present moment some of the more important of them. The first Amendment reads:

"Congress shall make no law (1) respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or (2) abridging the freedom of speech or the press; or (3) the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for redress of grievances."

The second Amendment gives the people the right of bearing arms. The third controls the billeting of soldiers. The fourth says: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons and things to be seized."

It is evident that the Bill of Rights secured American freedom on a broad and safe basis. All the freedom assured to the individual in England by the various reconfirmations of the Magna Carta and new enactments are assured to the American even more clearly and definitely. His person and his property are secure against the tyrannical power of the government by law.

And yet may the lover of freedom rest on his oars? Certainly not. For freedom is a very slippery thing as authority will ever strive to arrogate to itself various powers which will curtail the rights and freedom of the individual. At first these will be camouflaged or not fully exercised and the innocent people will not suspect the fatal poison. There are shrewd men who say that in America there have been silently developing some dangers to freedom.

The Central Government at Washington, for example, has been gradually taking more powers than the Constitution permitted. With the beginning of empire conscription, service abroad, and federal taxes have been imposed by the Central Government, thus interfering too much in the lives of the people in the States. The President, again, by appointing judges to the Federal Court has brought the judiciary under the control of the executive. The Women's Suffrage and the Child Labour Act have provisions that militate against individual freedom. The Prohibition Act had in it provisions for entering private houses and of trying men more than once on the same charge. Worse than all these are the Administrative Tribunals appointed by the President, as

they are not subject to the judicial courts. But the worst aspect of the conditions in America is the growing tendency to unite the executive, judicial and legislative powers, for "the commingling of these powers is the essential definition of despotism."

If in England there had been such a long period of struggle for liberty, and if in America people sense danger to freedom, how much vigilance is necessary in nascent India to safeguard the freedom of the people? Our Charter of Freedom adopted unanimously by the Constituent Assembly on the 22nd of January last contains safeguards for the individual. But the experience of England and America shows that we have to be watchful in spite of charters; and so let us see if there are some dangers which we may spot immediately.

In an Independence Day article Sir C. V. Raman sounded a note of warning. He said: "Looking round and sizing up the situation, it seems to me that the real danger before our country in the days to come is the crushing down of individual freedom and initiative by the steam roller of governmental authority." There is a distinct possibility of this, as things are at present, unless a strong opposition comes into being. It is not often realized that a good opposition party is a blessing to a country. Dr. Sterling E. Edmunds says: "Out of the development of the Whig and Tory parties there arose that peculiar institution of the greatest value in preserving the purity of administration and government, namely, the loyal and lawful opposition."

From this point of view, as from others, it is a pity that Pakistan had to cut itself off from India. For the welfare of free India the development of a healthy Opposition Party is necessary, as otherwise, by the natural logic of human character and the corrupting influence of power, and due to no fault of any one in particular, freedom within the country may be in peril. Hence as it was said about God, if it does not naturally exist it must be invented and brought into being.

Another danger to freedom in India lies in the sense of security, now that we have our own rulers. But the words of Demosthenes are still true: The only safeguard for freedom is DISTRUST. Every action of Authority must be critically examined to discover lurking germs of danger. That requires political insight, and in order to get that insight our education and outlook must be given a new orientation. Burke said that the study of law enabled the Americans to anticipate evils. "They augur misgovernment at a distance, and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze." We, with our hero-worship, spirit of obedience, credulity and good-will need special training in distrust, especially by a thorough study of the details of the freedom-rights in many lands. Above all, we have to remember the wise words of John Philpot Curran: "The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance; which condition if he breaks, servitude is at once the consequence, of his crime and the punishment of his guilt."

## TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIAL LIFE

BY MR. HARISH CHANDRA, M.A.

**I**N a broad sense Technology includes not only the machine industry proper, but such branches of practice as engineering, agriculture, medicine, sanitation, and economic reforms. Technology as such cannot but embrace the entire phase of man's life and activities. We can comprehend

the relation of technology to social life in terms of equilibrium and dis-equilibrium.

### DIS-EQUILIBRIUM IN THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

As a result of the series of discoveries and inventions in the field of technology, the material exaltation of man has been



accompanied by an up-setting of his physical environment. There is a lack of equilibrium in the physical environment, e.g., soil erosion, destruction of the mineral resources, deforestation etc. Soil is denuded of its nutritional element with the flow of water. The result is alkaline deposit and a tremendous loss in the fertility of the soil. This is recently happening in the Punjab. The point has been made clear by the Irrigation Reports that after a certain number of years all the chemical elements of the soil are washed out. The alkaline deposits have formed and fertility of the soil decreased. If the irrigation system is unscientific it takes away the fertility of the soil which shows a loss of equilibrium in the physical environment. Irrigation is devised by human engineering. Human engineering itself has lack of equilibrium. One may think that floods are caused by plenty of rainfall but they may be due to, in the first instance, deforestation, and in the second instance, the fact that natural waterway is interfered with by all kinds of human constructions such as roads or unscientific layout of the rail-roads that interfere with the natural flow of the soil. This is a physical disequilibrium. By the inventions of machines and technology and by building roads, bridges etc., the most fertile areas have been overrun by water. It is in-fact something preposterous and in its effect tantamount to human catastrophe. In short, human geography cuts across the natural geography. Again, there may be no scientific conservation of natural resources. The resources of Coal, Petroleum, etc., might be dissipated and destroyed through unscientific exploitation, which would set in dis-equilibrium gradually.

#### LACK OF EQUILIBRIUM BETWEEN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

The economic nature of modern capitalism is historically bound up with the development of technology. The enormous increase in physical production distinguishes capitalistic production from that of earlier epochs. The mechanical process of production has tremendously increased the volume of

production. This has been responsible for speedy industrialisation, for the opening up of the pre-capitalistic countries and for the rise of the general standard of living with an increase of population. 'With the transition to modern times; industry comes into the foreground in the west-European scheme of life, and the institutions of European civilization fall into a more intimate relation with the exigencies of industry and technology'. The dynamics of capitalist economy is interlined with modern technology. The relations between technology and social consciousness are considerably involved 'The systematic building up of individual industry and the rational administration of works are accompanied by sudden and incomprehensible market disturbances. In these disturbances the production process suddenly becomes paralysed.' A nation fails to achieve a balanced economy. Agriculture and industry seldom move hand in hand. The country has to face dis-equilibrium between agriculture and industry. When the last international strife was launched England did not know what to do. She was confronted with the most vital problem of the hour, viz., whether to increase the food-supply or to tap more and more of the industrial resources. As a result of her food campaign she could maintain her people only for five months in a year. For the rest of the year she had to depend upon the colonial supplies. Thus the colonies have to make up for the unbalanced economy of England because of the dis-equilibrium between industry and agriculture.

#### SOCIAL CHANGES

The significance of technical progress for change in social composition is complex in character. It has brought about dis-equilibrium in the distribution of population between:

- (a) Rural and Urban,
- (b) One area and another; and
- (c) Between social groups.

By far the most characteristic feature of the first stage of modern capitalism was the growth of an industrial proletariat. Rural

depopulation and urban congestion carried the day. Shifting of population from one region to another held the field. In the latter stages of capitalism social composition was differentiated by the numerical growth of non-violent middle groups and by the least expected resistance of the industrial proletariat to their own devastation by the huge dimensional scale of industry on the one hand, and unfettered foreign competition on the other. The middle groups utilized the technical research and progress in both primary and secondary industry. Technical advancement was, therefore, not a stumbling block to the peace and progress of the man. It only stressed the differentiation in the social stratification. Not only has technology brought about an unequal distribution of population but it is also responsible for cultural aberration. As we proceed from the west to the east we find striking contrasts between the culture of one region and the culture of another. In our own country it is only the U.P. which is the finest example of cultural balance, otherwise all the provinces suffer from cultural dis-equilibrium.

#### TRADE CYCLES

If the technical progress has brought a complete renaissance in all phases of man's life and his environment, in the field of business it has been unhappily accompanied by trade cycles. In every parlance the disturbances arising from technical progress are considered in relation to the argument concerning purchasing power. It is pointed out that the purchasing power is incompatible with the technological capacities. It fails to absorb the enormous amount of goods produced. In other words income and price are not adapted to the new supply. If this purchasing power argument be accepted then the phenomenon of trade cycles becomes a recurrent feature. Are we to say then that the creation of new and additional purchasing power shall counteract the forces of economic blizzards? Or establish a new equilibrium when the market is at a standstill and unemployment is brisk? The solution lies somewhere in

the control of supplies and efficient and equitable distribution.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment is a further instance of dis-equilibrium. If the pages of industrial history are scanned one finds that there has been a degree of technical unemployment. There is reabsorption in the later stages of development, no doubt. But it is true of skilled labour only. So far as the unskilled labour is concerned it continues to suffer the pangs of unemployment. During the last few decades preceding the world-war 1914-18 as a consequential result of increased production and extensive transport facilities, both inland and over-seas, the standard of living of the skilled labourers and functionaries began to approximate that of the bourgeoisie. But this was hardly true of the unskilled workers and the agricultural proletariat. They were even exposed to the blazing perils of sudden impoverishment. Again, machine production pushed the old worker out or thrust him in to less remunerative posts. If we take a broad view of the labour class as a whole we feel relieved from the workers' insecurity and instances of their dropping down to the lower strata of the proletariat when we visualize that the cultural development of the workers has made a great headway under the sway of an increased standard of life.

#### CLASS CONFLICTS

But one can hardly be quite optimistic in his estimate. For it is a true but tragic story that the rise of modern industrialism has transformed the social relationships. Whereas the period up to the Industrial Revolution was dominated by the opposition between the forces of conservatism and the revolutionary bourgeoisie, the following period witnessed the emergencies of the conflict between entrepreneurs, capitalists and workers.

#### MILITARY POLITICS

We have earlier pointed out that technology has brought about disequilibrium

between industry and agriculture. This has become the foundation of military politics to-day. We have also referred to the unbalanced economy of England and her colonial policy. But for the colonies which have restored the equilibrium between industry and agriculture by supplying the raw materials and food-stuffs and thus keeping the industrial machinery of England going on, the vast economic superstructure of the empire would have collapsed like a house of cards and jeopardised the entire social composition. Thus the disequilibrium is sought to be remedied by annexing colonies. Sociologically speaking militarism is attempted at for the restoration of the home equilibrium. Militarism in its own turn comes in conflict with other things which are sought to be remedied by world conquests and wars. Modern warfare is the net result. Technology comes in again but only to add fuel to the fire. It has given new implements to fight with. Infantry and cavalry, particularly tanks and aeroplanes, are there in abundance. One may fight to the verge of human destruction. Such is the military politics of to-day. It is out not to restore the equilibrium but pave the path of human destruction.

The period following the war of 1914-18 has seen the accelerated pace of technical progress. Its causes are mainly the 'systematic promotion of all improvements in production during war years, the continuation of similar economic conditions during the inflation period, which promote all kinds of investments, the dissemination of scientific methods which are now systematically developed in research institutes for almost every industry and the reciprocal enrichment of individual fields of research'.

#### CHANGING OUTLOOK

'The rationalist methodology of the economic system has psychologically transformed the modern man and has pushed into the background the power of irrational forces'. The rationalist tendency has dissolved the mystical element in man's consciousness and illumined all obscurities

and enigmas. Max Weber takes it to be the "disenchantment of the world". But this rationalist spirit, it may be noted, was inculcated in man long before the dawn of modern technology. It gained momentum by the aid of science and technology and to-day truly reflects a downward march of religious values and irrational forces. But Thorstein Veblen would make us believe that the 'traditional attitude of submissive approval toward the "natural Laws" of science has not yet been wholly lost, even among the scientists of the passing generation, many of whom have uncritically invested these "Laws" with a prescriptive rectitude and excellence, but so far, at least, has this animus progressed toward disuse that it is now chiefly a matter for expatiation in the pulpit, the accredited vent for the exudation of effete matter from the cultural organism'.

#### UNEQUAL TEMPO IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND MECHANISED LEISURE AND FREEDOM

Our analysis of the social decomposition should have made clear two notable facts, *viz.*, that the tempo in our development has not been equal and that the leisure and personal freedom that have been spared for us are mechanized. At times the wheel of progress has moved very fast and at times very slow. This had its effect upon the economic and social readjustment of the society. Then, in the mechanized process of our life our leisure and freedom have become almost like an automaton. They have lost much of their natural bliss since they are regulated and fixed in clock-work precision. Instead of sunshine and cloud, rainfall and storm, drought and flood, what control the routine of life and labour in the City, are the minute-hand of the clock, the whistle of the factory, and the traffic signal on road and railway.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

We have reached the end of our discussion. 'Adaptational responses to technology may be viewed in practically all aspects of life. As a matter of fact the modern community itself is in many ways a

product of technological change.' Our contact with our fellow-men has exercised tremendous influence upon our speech, family life, religion, attitudes and beliefs within communities. It has gone still further and vitally affected the whole problem of international relations and world opinions. Such a continued development has remarkably influenced the entire pattern of cultural change. 'In other respects—recreational, religious and educational—it represents a response to technological influences'. These changes have penetrated even the farmer's life living in a remote part of the earth as a result of enormous transportation and communication facilities. Even the growing tendencies towards greater centralisation of government could not have been possible without the modern means of transportation and communication. That man's efforts have been crowned with success goes unchallenged, but his achievements have confronted him with many acute problems.

#### FUTURE OUTLOOK

We drop our thread of narration. The cyclical crises of national and international conflicts and complexities shall continue and become a recurrent phenomena unless the peoples of this world realized that 'upon the solution of inner contradictions that is the elimination of hindrances to the utilization of technological potentialities ultimately depends the possibility that society may do away with the permanent dangers of crises and provide for cultural productivity together with an undisturbed dynamic course of production. For technology in itself is indifferent. The real cultural problem involved in such an industrialised society would not be caused by psychical dangers inherent in the character of work under modern technology but would rather be bound up with the problem of the masses. Much of the danger involved, however, could be overcome by the utilization of technological possibilities'.

## KABIR, THE HIEROPHANT OF HARMONY

BY PROF. K. R. BOMBWALL, M.A.

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THE apocryphal story relating the dispute between the Hindu and Muslim followers of Kabir, the poet-saint of Northern India, over the dead body of the mystic, each group claiming the right to perform the obsequies according to its own religious practice, may be, as sticklers for historical authenticity have declared, a legend pure and simple; but it chimes in perfectly with the possible end of the bard whose love-inspiring personality reveals itself in every line of his verse.

The son of a Brahmin widow who abandoned the infant to hide her shame, Kabir was found and brought up by Niru, a Muslim weaver and his wife, Nama. As a child, Kabir offended by his heterodoxy both Hindus and Muslims. He incurred the displeasure of the former by wearing the

sacred thread and he incensed the latter by singing praises of Ram. Yet the same Kabir who was at one stage threatened with excommunication, became the recipient of devotion from members of both communities. And even today, nearly four hundred years after his death, Kabir holds empire over the minds of millions of people owing formal allegiance to different religions. It is by no means uncommon to hear sadhus and fakirs recite the following lines of Kabir in order to touch the chord of sympathy in the hearts of the charitably disposed:

Chiri chonch bhar le gai, nadi na ghatio nir;  
Dar dia dhan na ghate, Kah gai bhagat Kabir.

(The sparrow takes beakful from the river, but the water diminishes not; Nor does charity lessen (the rich man's wealth; so

bath said Kabir). This is not to suggest that Kabir overcame all opposition—the iconoclast who aims blows at fetish-worship and can hardly be expected to be popular with vested interests. Nevertheless, many of Kabir's discriminating contemporaries recognised in him a bridge-builder, a man who endeavoured to awaken in all a sense of kinship which misguided worship of religious trade-marks militated against.

In these days when the ogre of communalism is stalking the country, Kabir's message of harmony has a special significance. We see narrow-minded politicians preaching the gospel of despair by advocating vivisection of a country which, despite all vicissitudes of history, has maintained its integrity. Champions of discord try to win platform popularity as masons of separatism.\* We hear of Pakistan. There are whispers of a Khalistan. And down in the South there are buzzing sounds which now and then become clearly audible as "Dravidistan." And all this is happening in a land which gave birth to Kabir, the hierophant of harmony, the Bard of Brotherhood, whose resonant voice still comes from across the centuries: God is the exclusive possession of no single religion; Ram and Rahim are but different names for the same Universal Father; mere pilgrimages will not please the one, nor will music before the mosque disturb the other.

Kabir lived at a time when, as a result of the bigotry of later Muslim rulers of India, the breach between Hinduism and Islam had become very wide. Alive to the urgent need of religious concord, Kabir pursued with a single-minded devotion the ideal of uniting the votaries of the two great religions. But it is the fate of reformers to be misunderstood. Kabir was denounced as a public enemy. The legend says that a number of pandits and kais joined hands with a view to arraigning

Kabir before the Emperor, Sikandar Lodi. When called upon to answer the charge of corrupting the people with irreligion, Kabir thus addressed the emperor, "It was my endeavour to unite Hindus and Muslims, but the work appeared impossible. I am therefore glad that it has been accomplished today. I see Hindus and Muslims united against me. Your Majesty, if this can happen before the throne of an earthly monarch, what may not happen before the throne of the Monarch of monarchs, the Lord of the Universe." If this unity has been created by hate what may not be done by love? It is almost superfluous to add that the Emperor allowed Kabir to depart in honour and the poet's antagonists had to take their discomfiture as best as they could.

\* Apart from the fact that Kabir's words are an excellent though unembellished statement of his mission, they are an illustration of the delicate irony—all the more stinging for its delicacy—whereof he was a master and which, in his hands must have been a formidable weapon in his crusade against humbug. Being one of the greatest luminaries in the galaxy of Indian mystics, Kabir had little respect for mere forms, and resentment at the blind worship of symbols in preference to the spirit of religion, often found expression in words which cut like razor blades. Kabir directed his pungent satire against cant and conventionalism which he found eating into the vitals of Hinduism and Islam alike. That he knew no fear and had the courage of his convictions is borne out by his words:

"If mere ablutions can render a man holy, frogs should be the saintliest of creatures. If the water of the Ganges can purify men, why do the fish in the Ganges have an unpleasant smell like the fish elsewhere?"

Once Kamali, Kabir's daughter served a thirsty Brahmin with water. When the Pandit's thirst had been slaked, he discovered that the girl came of a family of weavers.

\* This article was written long before India was divided into two Dominions.—Ed. J.R.

Wondrous was his wrath at having, as he felt, lost his caste. The matter was referred to Kabir who said to the angry Brahmin:

"Panditji, pray tell me which water you hold yourself free to drink and which to avoid?"

This well contains fish, frogs, dead birds and putrefying vegetation.

Death lays its hands on millions of men and you may, every moment be treading on the dust of some dead being. Of this dust are vessels made from which you drink water. . . . ."

The story goes on to say that the Brahmin who, a moment ago, could hardly hold himself together, was not only mollified, but that he agreed to marry Kamali.

With amazing boldness, considering the time-context, Kabir attacked the religious malpractices of his day, giving no quarter to sham or hocus-pocus. Unsparingly, he condemned most of the Hindu ceremonies and rites. Nor did he show mercy to the conventions of the Muslims when he found them devoid of meaning and antagonistic to the spirit of true religions. When a child, he had to submit to the ceremony of circumcision. His protest against the custom was characteristically vigorous. "If God has created you Muslims," he said, "why were you not born circumcised? If circumcision makes one a true Muslim, what about your women?"

If a man's religion was indicated by the label he bore then, said Kabir, he had no religion at all. When he met a young woman named Loi (who—so the tradition goes—later became his wife) and was asked, "What is your name?" he answered "Kabir." When asked what his religion was, his answer was the same: "Kabir." This was said like a genuine mystic and it was in the incandescent light of mysticism that Kabir sought to dissolve that differences of creed and ritual and to reveal the fundamental unity which binds all religions into organic oneness.

Kabir's own religion was also the core of all religions—devotion to God. Kabir knew that devotion to God was also the ostensible object of Hindus and Muslims alike but that misled by the hawkers of institutional religion, most people had gone astray and were wandering in the labyrinthine maze of formalism. He sang;

The jewel is lost in the mud, and all are seeking for it.

Some look for it in the East, and some in the West; some in the water and some amongst stones.

But the servant Kabir has appraised it at its true value, and has wrapped it with care in the end of the mantle of his heart.

Over and over again, Kabir harped on this idea; the easy accessibility of God who, in the words of Browning, is seen "in the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul and in the cloud." Those who seek him need not go far; He awaits discovery everywhere:

O Servant, where dost thou seek Me?

Lo! I am beside thee.

I am neither in Kaaba nor in Kailash.

Niether am I in rites and ceremonies.

Kabir says, O sadhus! God is the breath of all breath.

Again:

If God be within the mosque, then to whom does the world belong?

If Ram be within the image. . . . then who is there to know what happens without?

Hari is in the East, Allah is in the West, look within your heart, for there you will find both Karim and Ram.

All the men and the women of the world are His living forms.

Kabir is the child of Allah and Ram: He is my guru; He is my Pir.

"Kabir is the child of Allah and Ram"; the thought runs like a refrain in Kabir's poetry. Simple as the truth was it needed harping—it still does. Despite the lip-service people render to the wisdom of the mystics who sing of the Brotherhood of all religions, Rama and Allah continue to be incarcerated in temples and Kaaba respectively. The name is worshipped and becomes a rich source of internecine wrangling; the truth pervades the whole universe but the purblind bigots with their blinkers of prejudice have no eyes for it.

Symbol-worship creates a gulf between the devotees of different symbols which ritualism only helps to widen. Kabir condemned both in equally unequivocal terms. He poured contempt on the ascetic who mortified his flesh—he compared the yogi, for instance, to a goat because of his “great beard and matted locks!” Nor did he spare the pundits and maulvis—the worshippers of brass and stone. He called them “pots of the same clay” and declared that they failed to find God by slaughtering goats and cows to propitiate their deities. “The Hindu cries out, Ram is my beloved; Says the Turk, Rahim is mine. Neither knows that Ram and Rahim are one.”

Thus like a true mystic, Kabir preached the gospel of harmony and love. He saw unity in diversity and made unity the subject of his song. He heard the harmony into which all apparent discords of life

melt and make mellow music; and he endeavoured to attune the ears of others to this concord of sweet sounds. He wrote: “At the heart of the Universe, white music is blossoming; love strikes the melody, detachment beats time.”

Through his insistence on simplicity *Sadho, sahaj samadhi bali*: (O Sadhu, the simple worship is the best) and directness, his contempt of abstract formulae, his ruthless denunciation of formalism, Kabir sought to dispel the mists of separateness and to drive home to the cudgel-bearers of hostile creeds the transparent, though unrealised, truth that they were sons of the same Father, rays of the same Sun. Kabir's gospel of harmony is one of those things which “age cannot wither nor custom stale.” It is as fresh today as when it was delivered and yet how many of us need to be reminded of it!

## SARAT CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA

BY MR. SATYA BHOOSHAN SEN

**S**ARAT Chandra Chattopadhyaya was the greatest literary figure of Bengal, (Rabindra Nath Tagore being of course excepted) for over a quarter of a century. Saratchandra was no leader in literature like Bankim Chandra Chatterji nor a poet supreme like Rabindranath Tagore. Saratchandra was a novelist and as a novelist his name will go down to posterity.

Bankimchandra was the greatest literary figure of his time but literature was not his only distinction. Bankimchandra loved his country devotedly and felt deeply concerned in the ultimate well-being of the people of his country. That was a period of transition when the impact of Western civilisation and culture was influencing the people and deflecting the ideas and ideals of the country. With a view to check this onslaught Bankimchandra took it upon himself to plant the standard of traditional Indian culture and ideals before the people. This might have been

one of the main objectives why he originally took to literature. The Bengali prose had not as yet sufficiently advanced; it was the genius of Bankim which improved and modernised it. By his example and inspiration a group of litterateurs formed and gathered around him. By the right of his genius he naturally became the leader of them all. So Bankimchandra can very well be called a Guru or a leader in literature.

Rabindranath Tagore was essentially a poet. A sense of aesthetics and of the joy of life were the main heart strings of his life, the outward manifestation of which is the incalculable wealth of his literary output. His poetic nature and his poetic genius also coloured his whole life. As a poet by instinct and by nature and having produced such a wealth of literary output no other poet could claim equality with him. He can thus very aptly be called the poet supreme.

Saratchandra essentially belonged to the people. He had not the idealistic attitude of a philosopher like Bankimchandra or the vision of a poet like Rabindranath. He was content with the matter of fact world and the common experiences of the everyday life of the people. But his characteristic literary insight enabled him to find a wealth of joy in the experiences of the common life. The perpetual flow of desires and sentiments, joys and sorrows and love and hatred as the outcome of relations between man and man never failed to set up vibrations in his heart. It is therefore that Saratchandra dealt with the life of the common people in his literature.

The germ of the modern novel could be traced to Boccaccio of Italy in the 14th century. In the English literature the novel appeared in the 18th century; and in the Bengali literature we find the novel appearing in the latter part of the 19th century.

The interest of the novel lies in its representation of human life, both individual and social. In the beginning the interest of the reading public could not be roused unless something striking or sensational or out of the ordinary were brought in. So the novels mainly dealt in episodes and characters of history and mainly kings and high personages found place in novels. This idea was fully and typically represented in the English literature in the novels of Sir Walter Scott. In this respect Bankimchandra was the prototype of Scott in the Bengali literature.

But this idea could not stand against the tide of time. Time brought in its train changes in the outlook of the people. The dignity of man as man irrespective of his wealth or status began to be recognised. So the feelings and sentiments of all men began to find place in the novels and began to interest the novel readers. The literature of Bankimchandra has instances of it in his 'Krishnakanta's Will' and in his characters of Bhramar, Shalbalini, Zebunnessa, etc.

After Bankimchandra came Rabindranath as if after the close of the nineteenth century we see the dawn of a new century. In the meantime not only feelings and sentiments of all classes of people but also problems and cross currents of thoughts in relation to the family, the society and the national life found place in the novels of Europe. Instances of these might be seen in the literature of Rabindranath also. Rabindranath's genius was in full bloom at the dawn of the twentieth century. All problems of human life, man's sentiments and desires, all thoughts and feelings of the human heart, imaginations and ecstasies of the poet's mind—all these in their distinctions and diversities have been depicted in Tagore literature. In the literature of Rabindranath we see the epitome of the literary universe of literature as it were.

Saratchandra came at a time when the Bengali literature had attained such a development and had already produced such a wealth of output. He was fully conscious of his surroundings, the travails of social and political upheavals, but in literature Saratchandra was true to his instincts and genius. Behind the storm and stress and below the cross currents of diverse schools of thought the genius of Saratchandra enabled him to see the man in his essential qualities; and in the literature of Saratchandra man in spite of his sin and failings stands forth in all his integrity, and in all his glory.

Saratchandra felt deeply interested in the life and destiny of the common people. The hopes and aspirations, desires and sentiments, joys and sorrows of the common lot of man touched the heart strings of his life and these he has depicted in his literature with broad sympathy and inimitable skill.

Affection for the children is an admirable sentiment in the family life and has also won a traditional place in the Vaishnava literature. This sentiment has received such fond and sympathetic treatment in his literature that the glorious character



figures particularly in 'Bindur Chhele' and 'Ramer Sumati' might be compared with the classical art-forms of Madonna pictures.

Another sentiment, the most important of all, is love, conjugal love. It holds an incomparable importance in human life and therefore in all art forms in all ages and climes. Even in the 'Meghaduta' of Kalidasa where the human story is as immaterial as the cloud, it is the touchstone of love that has woven all the beauties of nature and in the imagination of the poet into a magic web. It needs no mention that love has found a very wide sphere in the literature of Saratchandra also.

In actual life the current of love does not as a rule flow in smoothness. Complications get in and give rise to problems. But these diversities of experiences are the component parts which go to form the human life in its entirety. In real life and so in literature also obstacles and difficulties stand in the way of love-life and bring about situations which go to enthuse literary ideas to attain to art forms in all brilliance; classical instances are very well known to all in the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Illiad and also in Kalidasa's Kumara-Sambhava, Shakuntala, Meghaduta, etc.

The classical instances cited above relate mostly to the lives of kings and aristocrats. But in the lives of the common people also such instances are in abundance. Not only obstacles and difficulties stand in the way of love-life but whole lives of individuals are very often frustrated or blighted. Individually many men suffer but because they belong to the common class, the people even the victims themselves accept the situation as a matter of course and the history of their sentiments and sufferings go unwept, unhonoured and unsung. Saratchandra reclaimed them from oblivion and gave them voices. Some of the characters in his literature stand out as if they were representatives of those types and specimens; Rama, Parbati, Achala, Kramayee, Rajlakshmee, Bijai, etc. are instances in

point. There is the other side of the picture where love happens to have met with fulfilment; this has also been very beautifully brought out in a few instances in the literature of Saratchandra.

But love interest and its analysis is not the only aspect in the literature of Saratchandra. Even through the analysis and delineation of love stories stand revealed the fine sentiments of his heart and his sympathetic outlook, which are also the greatest characteristic of his literature. The majority of the people of our country lead a very poor existence. Most of them are not only without means and without resources but many of them are crushed down by poverty, these not happening to have attained any status in any sphere of life are generally considered very lowly, those at the bottom of the social scale and those who have been turned down by fate and are eking out a miserable existence throughout life—all these destitutes and unhappy people have found recognition and have been allotted due places in the literature of Saratchandra. This has been possible only in view of the broad outlook and the genial and sympathetic attitude of Saratchandra.

The world is full of temptations and the common man has no small share of sin, failings and meanness in his nature and as a result no end of sorrows and sufferings fall to his lot. When taking a measure of the man we generally see the man clothed in his sin and sufferings. But the literary insight of Saratchandra enabled him to see the man, the essential man behind and beneath all these. His attitude has found expression in his own words: "Vice, sin and failings are not the only things that go to compose the entire man. The real man in the midst of all these, call it soul if you will, is greater than all his sin and failings. Far be it from me to give any offence to the man in my literature. Whatever justification there might be let not my literature ever give indulgence to any man to cherish any feeling of hatred to his fellowmen." In many of his character paintings it is

apparent that his one idea is to draw out the essential man, from the humiliation of sin and delusion. This evidently points to the possibility of man in all cases rising above sin and delusion and getting established in his own dignity.

His broad sympathy for man as man irrespective of his wealth or status and his unbiased attitude towards all persons and problems mark the chief characteristic quality of his literature. The common men and women had already begun to feature in stories and novels as a matter of course. If this remarkable change had not come about as a matter of evolution in history the literary genius of Saratchandra combined with his broad outlook might have made the same possible.

The Bengali prose literature got a well defined shape and a modern tone at the hands of Bankimchandra. The genius of Rabindranath working at it for more than half a century sharpened and chastened it to an admirable perfection so that it could rank with the best literature of all countries. Even after so much of culture Saratchandra has been able to show his characteristic distinction in handling the Bengali prose in his inimitable style. The language is the vehicle of expression of thoughts and ideas. His sincere heart, broad sympathy and open outlook acquired for him such a clear and transparent, easy and forceful style which could hold his readers spell-bound.

The marvellous output of Rabindranath Tagore has very admirably enriched the Bengali literature to a considerable degree. But his literature, even his stories and novels are of such a metal that the mass of people cannot properly appreciate or profit by it. A gentleman once expressed his personal grievance to Saratchandra, "We do not understand what Rabindranath means" in what he writes; on the other hand whatever you write is perfectly clear to us as day light." Saratchandra gave him a sharp reply—"It is not for you to understand what Rabindranath writes, because in fact he does not write for you at all; he writes for us who are authors and we write for you." In this Saratchandra gave expression to a truth in a very clear and beautiful manner. In fact everybody cannot be expected to have the faculty of appreciation in an equal degree and we cannot but make distinction between man and man.

Considered from this aspect the genius of Saratchandra was not uncalled for even after Rabindranath Tagore. The genius of Saratchandra gave us such a literature which is very rich and distinctive and at the same time can be appreciated by all. No doubt it is still the age of Rabindranath Tagore. But the novelists and story-writers who are even now carrying on their trade with credit to themselves and to the literature are the torch bearers of Saratchandra Chattopadhyaya. This is no small tribute to the genius of any litterateur.

## The Liquidation of the Zamindari System

(CONTRIBUTED)

THE abolition of Zamindaris is one of the live issues all over India. It has provoked a fierce controversy. This is only natural because a drastic reform such as this cannot but fail to evoke vociferous expressions of conflicting view-points. On the one side people are extolling the services of zamindars in the economic, social and humanitarian fields and contend

that their liquidation would be a signal disservice to humanity, while on the other hand the zamindars are described as oppressors of the poor. The controversy has unleashed a good deal of passion and heat in the midst of which basic realities are often overlooked. A commonsense survey of facts seems therefore worth while. At the outset we have to take note

of the spirit of the times. Addressing the Inter-Asian Conference, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the Second Global War marked the end of an era and the beginning of another. The common man is coming into his own now and the trend of modern forces is for his all round upliftment. It is therefore inevitable that anything which is considered an obstruction to his economic and social progress has to give way.

How far and in what way are the zamindars an obstruction to the economic salvation of the common man is the next question. India is an agricultural country with more than 80 per cent. of population depending on agriculture. It is too obvious therefore, that the prosperity of this country is intimately bound up with the prosperity of agriculture. And agriculture has been in a bad way for a very long time in the past. There are a number of causes for this and it is a happy augury that the provincial Governments all over India as well as the Central Government have programmed a co-ordinated tackling of these causes with the object of rehabilitating agriculture. One of the cardinal causes for the agricultural setback in this country can be traced to the Land Tenure systems obtaining here. The recent Madras report on rural indebtedness observes, 'The system of Land Tenure tempers the conditions of agricultural production'. It is therefore of fundamental importance that in any scheme of stepping up agricultural production it has to be ensured that the land tenure system does not operate as a handicap.

There are three principal kinds of Land Tenure Systems in this country, *vis*, the Ryotwari, the Zamindari and the Inam Tenure. Under the Ryotwari system the peasant is the proprietor and tax-payer of the land and the Government deals without any intermediary. He is responsible for the payment of his taxes and Government do not ordinarily dispossess him unless he commits default in the payment of land revenue. He is at liberty to sell,

gift or mortgage or lease his property. In his case, there is security of possession and there is no question of fixity of tenure. There is also no middleman between him and the Government and the relationship between the two is precise and unambiguous. Unfortunately these features are absent in the case of the Zamindari system. This system is in vogue in almost all the provinces in India, in varying dimensions. In the United Provinces for example it is reported that there are more than a lakh of zamindars. In Bengal and Bihar also, the system is more or less wide-spread. In Madras, roughly one third of the province is under the zamindari system. The essential feature of the system is that under it the Government deals not with the ryots direct but with the zamindars. The zamindars are middle-men between the Government and the ryots. The Government do not ordinarily concern itself beyond the collection of a fixed amount from the zamindar every year and leaving a *carte blanche* to him as regards the latter's relationship with the ryots. This is a fundamental point to be noted. It has been fruitful of so much abuse on the part of zamindars and so much misery on the part of ryots. Normally, the zamindars must be to their ryots what the Government are to the ryots in the ryotwari areas. But the complaint is widespread that the zamindars have not measured up to their responsibilities and that they are interested only in extracting more than their pound of flesh without discharging their reciprocal obligations towards their ryots. This attitude of theirs, has, since the last over a quarter of a century whipped up a persistent agitation against them.

In this connection it may not be out of place to refer to the origin of the zamindari system. The major view is that it is not an indigenous growth but an innovation of the British rulers during the 18th century. No doubt, tax collectors existed during the pre-British period; but their responsibilities were restricted and did not exceed roughly speaking those of the present day village

headman. But it appears that with the lapse of time and the turmoil that followed the disruption of the Moghul Empire the tax collectors in many places acquired property rights in their respective territories and these rights and privileges were confirmed later by British rulers who mistook the system for the English Landlordism. Actually landlordism of the English type did not exist in this country prior to the advent of the British. Apparently the feudal traditions of their own country must have prompted the English to legalise a system which had no roots here.

Be that as it may, the system is widely condemned now. The famous Kautaliya said that the true test of a fair tax is that it must not prove a burden to the people. On this analogy it may be said that the true criterion of a just land tenure system is that it should not deprive the ryot of an incentive to improve his position. Judged on this standard the zamindari system has little to commend it. The zamindar has been accused of illegal exactions and rack renting, thus depriving the ryot of the legitimate fruits of his labours and the consequent incentive. The ryots have neither security of possession nor fixity of tenure. Apart from this, the fact that zamindars are middle-men is a point against them. The modern tendency is for elimination of waste as represented by middle-men. The general allegation is that middlemen thrive at others' cost and their liquidation is a persistent theme of

many including social workers and leaders of public opinion. The expansion of the co-operative movement is primarily aimed at the elimination of the middleman. A recent Economist has said that India's economic backwardness is due among other things to the fact that it does not know how to convert her waste into wealth; waste on account of uncertain seasonal condition, waste on account of primitive methods of cultivation, waste on account of non-application of manures and fertilisers, waste on account of the conservatism of ryots, waste on account of social ceremonies, waste on account of middlemen etc. To eliminate this element of waste is rightly considered the first preliminary in the economic rehabilitation of the country. It seems therefore inevitable that the zamindari system has also to go under, along with other middlemen. Pandit Nehru has said more than once that any basic land reform that is indispensable for the improvement of the cultivator's lot should postulate the elimination of such intermediaries as landlords and zamindars. And this is a widely accepted opinion.

Most of the Provincial Governments are moving in this direction. The provinces of Bihar, United Provinces, Bengal and Madras may be specially mentioned in this connection. Nobody can, however, deny that zamindars in their days have played a useful role. But they were only a passing phase in the affairs of this country. Nothing is static; so also the Zamindari System.

## Are Indian Newspapers Political News Sheets?

BY MR. B. R. K. BHATNAGAR

VERY often is the criticism heard that Indian newspapers are mere political news-sheets exuding political fervour day in and day out.

On the face of it the criticism appears well-founded, for, shorn of all political news and views they carry from day to day, our newspapers, particularly the nationalist

group of them, will look as blank and meaningless as a lady without a touch of love, romance and beauty in her. But a closer study will show that Indian newspapers, having been the newspapers of a subject people for a couple of centuries, could not but remain preoccupied with politics and as such engaged in a constant

campaign of teaching, preaching and prophesying in the cause of the country's freedom.

Before a detailed answer is attempted, it will be found that this allegation has three clear cut implications: In the first place it may refer to the lack of human interest stories in Indian newspapers—stories dealing with the condition and behaviour of mankind in different circumstances and with different motives. Secondly it may mean an absence or paucity of subjects of enduring academic interest and problems of international character, discussed by the Indian Press, and treated, if discussed at all, without a definite political bias. Finally it may take the shape of a blunt remark that Indian newspapers are engaged in carrying on too much political propaganda and as such cease to be newspapers; they are mere views-papers in disguise.

The first charge can better be examined in relation to the Press in England and America from where I quote one instance each. Adolf Myres formerly of the *Times of India*, Bombay, in the collection of his broadcasts attractively entitled "How to be a Journalist" gives the story of the "*News of the World*", "which has a circulation of more than 3,000,000 copies, the largest in the world, barring none". A typical issue of this English newspaper, he tells us, gave 8 columns to the news of political and economic interest, 18 columns to the news of political and economic interest, 18 columns to sport and 25 columns to news of criminal and passionate interest including matrimonial troubles (divorce, bigamy, abduction etc), robbery, theft, assaults (including indecent assaults), murder, manslaughter, fraud, false pretences, forgery and blackmail etc etc. This is one side of the picture as reflected by the largest circulated British newspaper. The other is mirrored by the Hearst newspapers of America which have built up their circulation—and reputation too—on what is nicknamed as "yellow journalism". They have a circulation larger than any other serious kind of newspaper in America and are well known for their cheap sensational stories. After giving the

detailed list of the kind of events reported by the *News of the World*, I need not recount to my readers what else cheap sensational stories may mean in the case of Hearst newspapers of America. If these are what is meant by the "human interest stories", I seek to make no amends. We would suffer without a grouse or a grumble, the charge that our newspapers are mere political news sheets rather than publish the so called human—or more appropriately speaking—inhuman-interest stories. Our readers have neither time nor energy to read them. In a country like ours buried deep in illiteracy the readers have altogether a different ideal before them. They have to be trained to become good citizens and as such their interest and attention have to be switched off from mere police court stuff to much more constructive and healthier subjects. 'A man is what he eats', is an age old adage. That a man is what he reads is equally true; for was it not the Lord Bishop of Lahore who, while delivering the convocation address of the Punjab University, recently observed: "What a man reads in his leisure time, apart from what he reads for the examination, is really the touchstone of taste...." If the taste of our readers is not to be degenerated into what may be compared to that of "4 anna cinema goers", we have deliberately to shut out all such material from our news-columns.

Cheap sensational stories apart, our newspapers, however, do not lag behind any responsible newspapers of any other country, in introducing real human interest element in their columns wherever necessary.

This is of course conditioned by the fact that in a country like ours, the very conception of newspapers is different. Politics is their mission, and they fall much short of our expectations if, as I shall show later, they display slackness in that missionary zeal. The frequent references to the Harijan uplift work, the reports of tragic scenes enacted in the streets of Calcutta during the famine and riots, the stories of Bihar and Quetta earthquake victims, more recently

the tale of woe of the Burma evacuees who crossed into the Indian land frontier, and the thousand other episodes often met with in the columns of Indian dailies—particularly those representing the nationalist group of them—are replete with human interest and are a glowing tribute to the sympathy the Fourth Estate in India displays for the welfare of the people.

It is thus not the human interest, but the cheap sensational stories, that our newspapers lack in, and for this we have no regrets.

The second charge—*vis*, Indian newspapers devote very little space to subjects of general academic interest and problems of international character, and treat these subjects, if at all they discuss them, not without a definite political bias—has two aspects. The first refers to the paucity of such articles and features, in the Indian press and the second to their treatment, as implied, in the words 'not without a definite political bias' by the newspapers.

That the newspapers devote less attention, and space too, to them should be admitted; and for obvious reasons. Unlike the *Times* of London, our newspapers, do not cater exclusively for a high and intelligent class of readers. They are meant for the average man. And in a dependent\* country, the average reader who is too much pre-occupied with the problems of earning a livelihood has neither time nor energy to read and appreciate these articles which are essentially meant to be studied at leisure and as part of intellectual pursuit. This is responsible, to some extent, for the lack of enough of articles appearing in the 'Indian Press.' To the extent, however, to which the average Indian readers can or should take interest in their study, the articles are published invariably in the Weekly (Sunday) editions of newspapers and on occasions when their publication is warranted.

Strictly speaking however it is not the function of daily newspapers to specialise

\* This article was written before August 1947.—Ed. J.R.

in the publication of articles. Beyond dealing with them in their Sunday issues etc. they should do nothing more. A daily newspaper with its preoccupation with a host of day to day events cannot do more than take a passing notice of them, unless in special cases, it is called upon to pursue the subject at length in public interest. It is, in fact, the work of periodicals and monthlies to devote their pages to the discussion of problems of enduring interest. Elsewhere, the work of the daily press is supplemented by a number of magazines, periodicals and monthlies. In India where journalism is not yet an old established profession, the number of such periodicals is very limited. But India does possess some really first class monthlies e.g. the *Indian Review* and *Modern Review*, to name two of them. With the growth of literacy and increase in the number of reading public, more of such periodicals will be coming out and when this stage is reached even the daily newspapers will be increasing their attention to this branch of journalism.

The second part of the charge relating to the treatment of subjects also cannot be denied. We generally find that an article starting with a court case often ends in the demand for a national government or another beginning with the toll of famine in Bengal does not conclude without making an effective appeal for the release of political prisoners, if there be any. Even subjects of international character not having a direct bearing on this country have so far been looked at from political angle and turned into an opportunity to tear the government policy to pieces by the opposition. This is what is meant when our newspapers are accused of not discussing subjects on a purely academic journalistic basis or what amounts to the same thing "not without a political bias". But this should not be a cause of disappointment. The explanation is simple.

Politics has been our life-breath, and politics of a different sort too, politics involving a constitutional warfare with a power which had pitched up its camp very deep in the Indian soil, and which

happily is now planning to leave India to Indians. Our aim has been to get rid of that power and for that we agitate. We are born amidst agitation, we live amidst agitation and we even die amidst agitation. Our newspapers do the same and in so doing find no escape from having a political bias and preaching political ideals. This brings me to the charge No 3—*viz* "Too much political propaganda is carried on by the Indian Press."

Too much of political propaganda is carried on by the 'Indian Press! Here I must pause a while. Lord Riddell calls a newspaper 'a mirror of the nation'. What is the Indian nation, one asks—except hitherto, a down-trodden, exploited, illiterate people seething perpetually with discontent and struggling ceaselessly for emancipation from an alien rule. What else could our mirrors, the Indian newspapers, then show except the picture thus reflected? Our economics, our education, our industry, our means of communication—all had been planned to suit an alien government and for a people, even more alien. The newspapers bring home to us the truth that the only remedy is independence, nothing but complete independence, and they are pledged to it. But what are the means to achieve independence? Fate had left none in our hands. We can't afford to and need not be violent, for the greatest of revolutions have been bloodless. Agitation, endless agitation, agitation constitutional and non-

violent, has been our war cry. Newspapers have been but one weapon in helping us agitate. They perform a host of other functions as well. There is an army of political workers—call them soldiers, if you like—in the field actively carrying on a constitutional warfare with rulers. Newspapers have been their mouthpiece. But how to supply recruits to this army? Newspapers again have their part to play. They educate; they propagate; they bring home to the masses the need of enlisting themselves in an ever-increasing number for the struggle for freedom. And who keeps the morale of this army amidst all frustrations, disappointments, adverses and even occasional defeats—as indeed there are triumphs. Our newspapers tell us: "Be up and doing! Win we shall! Ultimate Victory will be ours!!!" In these circumstances, if the newspapers appear to others—perhaps those who say so, lack insight into and sympathy for Indian affairs—mere political news sheets, exuding political fervour day in and day out, we can't help it. The very conception of a newspaper in our country is different. The newspapers have to become as much viewpapers as they are expected to be newspapers. It is inevitable for them, placed as they are. It is rather a praise than blame to call them "mere political news-sheets" and a tribute to what may be called their self-imposed duty of work for country's welfare.

## Languages and Linguistic Phenomena

BY MR. S. RAMASWAMI, M.A.

THAT a very large body of men and women to-day want to know a great deal about language is, I venture to think one of the most reassuring signs of the times. The large number of books which have appeared on the subject of language, recently bear witness to this interest. The book under review\* is the ripe fruit of several

years' thought on the subject and originally delivered in 1925 as lectures to the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, is a perfect little marvel of sanity, of sound good sense on language problems, of a quiet and humane wisdom, of a bright though by no means ostentatious wit—is this slender little volume. These are not qualities which one generally encounters in books on language. But they

\* **MAN, KIND, NATION AND INDIVIDUAL. From a Linguistic Point of View.** By Otto Jespersen. Allen & Unwin, London, (1944).

are qualities that distinguish all Dr. Jespersen's works.

The questions which this little book sets out to answer are as varied as they are interesting. Why did languages break up in the past? What makes for new and ever-widening units, culminating in a supra-national auxiliary medium? How do class distinctions affect speech? What have our lively bright young things in common with the Maoris of New Zealand? Why do the same sound changes occur at widely separated places? These are a few of the many questions covered in this beautiful little book. But it is not the sheer variety, or the intrinsic interest or importance of these issues, it is the extraordinarily stimulating discussion of them here that makes this book such fascinating reading.

Starting with the terms Mankind, Nation and Individual, Dr. Jespersen points out how something more than a common language goes to make a Nation, though throughout this book, he treats of the Nation as a linguistic 'community'. Although language is essentially "the sum of word-pictures in the individual soul," he points out how the most individual speech and language are socially conditioned, the individual and society in ever-active interplay and in constant, continuous, organic evolution. Language is not an artificial or a self-existent thing but a human activity, and lends itself to logical as well as artistic communication. Man uses as well as plays with language producing now an argument, now a poem or a new set of intellectual habits for himself and his society and sometimes yet another language altogether, working off thus a most varied set of impulses in himself. Dr. Jespersen trenchantly and conclusively ridicules the lazy, fantastic (or ignorant?) supposition of some who ought to know better, that language is something arrived at by discussion at a public meeting or at a meeting of a committee. It simply doesn't happen that way at all and that is a fact that Committees on Technical and Scientific terms and zealous rather than knowledgeable Ministers of Education would

do well to remember. Language takes no orders from Governments or even from committees of linguistic experts. Language is an organic growth and is one of the products of man's restless search for self-expression. Authoritative formulations of vocabulary, of standards of pronunciation etc, except when regulated by a continuous recognition of the living, vital character of language, are bound to be as futile as Canute's fiat to the sea and the amiable but luckless Mrs. Partington's gallant and unavailing transactions with the Atlantic ocean: Forces are all the time at work, changing, enriching, suppressing, pruning and vitalizing language. Words fall out of use or change their meaning, new words come in displacing old, pronunciations change, nay even grammar and usage. Breaking Priscian's head is a game of endless interest and goes on all the time! Language breaks up into dialects and the march of civilization strengthens the individualizing and the differentiating forces all the time, setting up tensions between various groups, as for *e.g.* between the townsman and the villager. The opposite process is also at work and a language which develops many dialects usually emerges, as English has done, enriched with the picturesque beauties of dialect speech and vocabulary taken over and assimilated. The dialect of the upper-class in any society, however, as, Dr. Jespersen points out, tends to be the standard and enjoys various advantages in the struggle of dialects for recognition.

One of the most interesting questions discussed here is that of synonyms. Are synonyms an unqualified blessing? Is it necessary or desirable that these should be in a language particular expressions for every nuance for every shade of meaning? Besides 'hot', 'cold' and 'lukewarm' do we require special expressions for the different degrees of heat? Or to make another example, do we require for the host of conceivable types of elevation, separate expressions in addition to 'hillock', 'hill' and 'mountain'? To aspire for such a degree of comprehensiveness and



exhaustiveness would be to ask for a linguistic Hell, says Jespersen. He is quite right. Anyway, mercifully, the aspiration, if it stirs any bosom, is doomed to remain a mere aspiration for many a long day!

On the question of Grammar Dr. Jespersen's view, frequently expressed elsewhere with the forthright completeness of conviction is restated here more concisely. Grammar is not "and ought not to be looked upon as a set of stiff dogmatic precepts to be crammed down the throats of the learner of a language. It is a process, says Dr. Jespersen, not a result. It is constantly developing, always alive, under a continual undulations and fluctuations, something that is founded upon the past and prepares for the future. There are thus no innumerable standards of correctness. As Shelley says:—

Man's yesterday may ne'er be like his morrow.  
Nought may endure but Mutability.

Dealing with the relative claims of the logical and artistic considerations in our pursuit of 'correctness', Dr. Jespersen points out that one can be an enemy of pedantry, without surrendering one's liking for clear thinking. There often arises a conflict between strength of thought and exactness of thought. But the resources of language are infinite and afford a varied series of devices for achieving effective as well as beautiful expression. Language is a bottomless bag of tricks, a continuous worker of miracles. The poets show us the way. Each man's instinct guides him and the true artist knows how to achieve harmony. Amusing effects however can arise from words which sound alike, which the lover of beauty will know how to avoid. Bradley's story of the man who concluded his praise of Oxford thus: "And what a whole (pinhole) it is!" tells us how easy it is to be ridiculous!

Slang is another of the interesting subjects dealt with here. Our children almost daily build up a curiously vigorous 'language' of their own, trying to escape from conventional modes of thought and expression and in the various professions,

in the Army and the Navy, in Parliament, in the universities, a largely similar language building goes on continually. Indeed, as Jespersen says, it is essentially human and universal, this process, which exploits irony, association, contempt etc., as it goes on. Husbands ere long, one fears, will commit a Munich and recognize their erstwhile 'Better Halves' as their "Delightful Seven-Eights" buying as Chamberlain did a brief precarious peace preparatory for War. Meantime politicians stand both literally and metaphorically on their "platforms," "principles" having been replaced by "planks"!

Allied to Slang are the languages of concealment which shopkeepers, lawyers and thieves and other "groups" use in the way of business or play. Teachers and parents who feel utterly 'lost' in the face of a *tornado* of words to each of which children add a syllable to disguise the sense of them from their 'enemy', will derive but cold comfort from Dr. Jespersen's statement that in this, these precocious children have something in common with the Maoris of New Zealand. The Todas of Badaga also have their 'Code' language. It is not alone Government who can devise, use or need 'codes'! Except we become as little children however, we shall not understand them or this elusive wisdom?

There is more delightful fare in this book than would appear from this account of its content. All of it shows that behind the manifold diversities of our various languages, there is a great common factor in the general trend of human thought and human ways of expression. There is an everincreasing uniformity in the fundamental vocabulary and language patterns of the peoples of the world which makes the search for a world language, more than a learned hobby. Dr. Jespersen has done inestimable service to the ideal of 'One World' by bringing to bear on one aspect of it, the wisdom, charm and learning which are to be found in this little book.

# MUSLIMS IN INDIA

By "POLITICUS"

**M**USLIMS in India have had the shock of their lives when they came face to face with the grim realities of the situation created by the division of India on communal lines. The whole country stands aghast at the bloodshed and butchery that have followed the hated vivisection of a people who for centuries have lived together in peace and amity. Barring a handful of brave and sagacious nationalists, Muslims as a body held out for Pakistan and the leaders had no option but to yield against their best judgment. And yet everyone knew that the two nation theory was a wicked propaganda and would ultimately lead the nation to perdition. And so has it proved. Muslim Leaguers who blindly took up the craze have now come to realise the enormity of their blunder and there is undoubtedly, all over India, a quick realisation of the great error of judgment—to put it mildly—into which they have been betrayed. They now realise they can have no part or lot with Pakistan, and their fortunes are inextricably linked with those of their neighbours in India.

Thus Mr. Latifur Rahman, leader of the Muslim League Party in the Orissa Assembly—

Every one of us (Muslims) in the Indian Union is feeling that he has committed a blunder. What is the remedy then? The remedy is that the two states should now unite and staff a common centre. Otherwise, the communal passion which surcharges the entire atmosphere, is bound to burst, bringing ruin to both and resulting in loss of independence to both the States.

Dr. S. M. Hasan, ex-Minister of C. P. and Berar asks the Muslims frankly and boldly to own their mistake and avow their undivided loyalty to the Union. They must show positive proof of the change of heart.

In all honesty and sincerity they must have an undivided and unqualified loyalty to the Indian Union, where they have lived for generations. It is in the fitness of things that they should disband the Muslim League Organisation in the Indian Union immediately and join the Congress en bloc and cast their lot with other minorities and the

Hindu brethren for the common cause as it was done in the I. N. A. of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Leading Muslims in Bombay, point out that the only "honourable course" for those who still believe in the two nation theory is to migrate to Pakistan or "to openly declare themselves as Pakistanists who have chosen to live in the Indian Union as the Britishers and other foreigners have done."

The feeling is equally strong in U. P. and Mr. Ehtisham Mahomed Ali, M.L.A. calls in the four and a half crores of Muslims in the Indian Union to seriously

ponder over their plight and without delay categorically come forward to denounce and repudiate the League leadership which continues to mislead the innocent Muslim minds and is playing havoc with their life and property.

Resigning his membership of the Muslim League, the Maharaj Kumar of Mahmudabad, the erstwhile lieutenant of Jinnah and a pillar of the League movement in U. P. truly observes that the League has outlived its utility and should, therefore, be wound up.

After the creation of Pakistan what I find is that well-to-do League leaders have gone to their new homeland, leaving the Muslim masses in India to meet their own fate. The Muslims look for inspiration and guidance but the League leaders do not find enough courage to face them finding themselves between the devil and the deep sea. The Indian Muslims have been demanding that the League should chalk out a programme for them in the light of to-day's needs. But all this has proved to be a voice in the wilderness.

Concluding, the Maharaj Kumar says:

Faithful Indian Muslims are determined to die fighting for the Indian Union, even if this fight be against the Dominion of Pakistan.

The division has done no good even to the Muslims of Pakistan as is evident from the chaos and corruption reported to be rampant in the new Dominion. Half the population is fleeing in panic for dear life and the incoming refugees find it hot to stay on amidst the crumbling ruins of a strange and unwelcome land. The minori-

ties have had enough of it and are ~~trekking~~ in their lakhs to safer India, leaving their homes and properties to plunder and destruction. Wordy assurances and paper safeguards have been of no avail. Who then has gained anything by this unwanted division except the Governor-General of Pakistan who by great tact has raised himself to one of the highest offices under the British crown and his henchmen who have also had their plums? On top of it comes the news of Khaliqzada man, leader of the Muslim League party in the Indian Constituent Assembly, who made resounding protestations of loyalty to India, running away with all the 21 members of his family to Pakistan, doubtless on a fat job. Such is League leadership. It is a sickening story of selfishness and betrayal of which decent Muslims are ashamed and no wonder that Mr. Abdul Qiyam (Jasari, President of the All India Muslim Conference and Rehabilitation Minister, Behar accuses Mr. Jinnah of undermining the solidarity of the Muslims by partitioning the country. The only remedy, he says, is "to reunite India and Pakistan," though talk of re-union at this stage is mere waste of breath. As has been observed by Syed Ali Zabeer, India's Ambassador-designate to Iran,

it is too much to expect that Mr. Jinnah will agree to give up his hard earned Pakistan and agree to re-union. But it is for the Muslim masses, if they feel that they have made a mistake and their interests have suffered by the division of India, to openly and frankly admit the mistake and work for the reunion of the two Dominions.

Nationalist Muslims are the worst sufferers in this crisis. Their lot has become unenviable and yet they have carried on with single-minded devotion to their duty as patriots, amidst the taunts of their fellow religionists and the suspicion of others. In a statement issued the other day Bengal Nationalists urge the Mussalmans of India to join the Congress and strengthen it for the common good of the people of the country.

The statement says:

The Pakistan demand of the Muslim League is responsible for the division of India. The disastrous consequences of this division for the Indian

Mussalmans is too obvious. It has reduced them to a helpless and hopeless position. League leaders in the Indian Union, who were most loud and vocal in their demands for Pakistan, are now publicly confessing that they committed a great blunder in supporting the Pakistan movement and by clinging to the absurd two-nations theory.

It is high time, the statement continues, that Mussalmans of the Indian Union shake off with energy and speed the ruinous effects of the poisonous preachings of the Muslim League and face the situation boldly in a realistic manner. They should realise that they cannot have divided loyalty to Pakistan and the Indian Union at the same time. They must cultivate unqualified and unswerving loyalty for their State and be ready to fight for the honour of India.

When all is said it must be remembered that our Muslim countrymen have been led into a dark alley and they are frankly in a difficult situation. They have the sympathy of all true Indians, but at a time like this, it behoves them to show by every act and word that they are no less loyal to the State than others. This land belongs to them quite as much as to all other Indians. But the day to day reports of discoveries of arms and ammunition secreted in Muslim houses and Mohallas are not exactly calculated to reassure their countrymen of their *bona fides*. It is necessary that the new born constitution should be safeguarded with vigilance. And at a time like this it is perhaps inevitable that some innocent people should suffer for the folly of the misguided. But great care should be taken not to wound the susceptibilities of the truly loyal and patriotic Muslim. Other Indians should not indulge in the cheap sneer "Go to Jericho." For we must always remember as Pandit Nehru said, there have been traitors in all camps, and where are you to pick off the Hindu traitor?

Frankly the situation is difficult and delicate in all conscience and it behoves the Government of the Union to treat all alike as citizens of a free country with their rights intact, while at the same time securing that the processes of the law are executed firmly and promptly, so as to ensure the stability of the State.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## The Mysore Settlement

THE announcement of the formation of a popular ministry in Mysore is the first step in the implementation of the Maharaja's Proclamation issued soon after the completion of negotiations between the Dewan and the leaders of the State Congress. The settlement of the long-standing and vexatious dispute marks the beginning of a new era of peace and progress in a State which has in many respects been acclaimed as a model and progressive State. With enlightened rulers and under a succession of able Dewans Mysore has enjoyed the benefits of progressive administration and has a great tradition to cherish and enhance. Unfortunately the State has had to pass through a phase of struggle and suffering but it has now emerged all the better for the crisis. Mysore is to have full responsible Government and we have no doubt, with the joint and whole-hearted co-operation of the people and the ruling house an era of great happiness and prosperity is before the State. We congratulate the State Congress leaders on their resounding success and wish the experiment in popular Government all the success it deserves. It is a handsome tribute to Mysore that Kashmir is to follow the example of Mysore and set up a constitution on the same model.

## Kashmir

Events have moved quickly during the last week in India. The pressure tactics of Pakistan has driven Kashmir into the arms of the Union earlier than expected. In his letter to Lord Mountbatten the Maharaja recounts the woes of Kashmir during these trying weeks:

Though we have got a standstill agreement with the Pakistan Government, that Government permitted steady and increasing strangulation of supplies like food, salt and petrol to my State.

Afridgi, soldiers in plain clothes and desperadoes with modern weapons, have been allowed to infiltrate into the State at first in Poonch area, then in Sialkot and finally, in a mass, in the area adjoining Hazara district on the Sialkot side. The result has been that the limited number of troops at the disposal of the State had to be dispersed and thus had to face the enemy at several points simultaneously, so that it has become difficult to stop the wanton destruction of life and property and looting. The Mahora power house, which supplies the electric current to the whole of Srinagar, has been burnt. The number of women who have been kidnapped and raped makes my heart bleed. The wild forces thus let loose on the State are marching on with the aim of capturing Srinagar, the summer capital of my Government, as a first step to overrunning the whole State.

Kashmir had no choice but to accede to the Union and ask for assistance to ward off the intruders. That has been done by the prompt despatch of troops to Kashmir. The other alternative, says the Maharaja "is to leave my State and and my people to freebooters," which "I will never allow to happen so long as I am the ruler of the State."

## Hyderabad

H. E. H. The Nizam is yet to make up his mind in regard to accession to the Indian Union. Sir Walter Monckton, his Constitutional Adviser, is reported to have made more than 80 visits to Delhi and the Hyderabad delegation, weary of its protracted and fruitless talks, has resigned. It speaks much of the patience and forbearance of the State department that they should have put up with the endless and wearisome negotiations. It is clear that the extremists in the State are making settlement impossible. This, in itself, is enough reason why the Dominion Government cannot tolerate such pockets of intrigue within its borders. Fancy a State delegation prevented from keeping its engagement with Delhi authorities just because of hostile demonstrations by the Iltehad-ul-Muslemin! Either the State is powerless to overcome this fascist body or is a willing tool in its hands. Perhaps Hyderabad is waiting to see the outcome of events in Kashmir.

### Bharati Memorial

A unique event in the annals of Tamil Nad was witnessed on October 13 in Ettayapuram when Tamilians gathered in their thousands to do honour to the memory of the greatest of modern Tamil poets and writers, Subramania Bharathi, in the very place of his birth.

The Bharathi Memorial built at a cost of Rs. 50,000 was unveiled by His Excellency C. Rajagopalachariar, Governor of West Bengal.

It is fitting that the memorial to the patriot-poet of Tamil Nad should be opened by a scholar-statesman who has also played a distinguished part in the resurgence of South India in the right Bharati tradition. Bharati worked for the cause of the country in the spirit of the saying "let me make the songs of the people whoever might make their laws." And the poet has immortalised himself in the heart of his people while the memory of the legislators has gone the way of all flesh.

Bharati had courage and vision—the vision of a free country and the courage to work for that freedom in his own way. He wrote poetry in the dialect of the common people and touched their hearts and aspirations to a nicety. That way lay his genius and the quickening of the people's consciousness has stimulated their interest in his writings and paved the way for the country-wide homage to his memory.

Bharati, like the proverbial poet, was born poor, he lived in poverty and died poor. He paid the penalty for his daring and outspokenness by a life of unredeemed suffering and struggle. It is something that 38 years after his death his true worth should be recognized by his grateful countrymen and their neglect during his life should be atoned after his death by a fitting memorial.

Seven cities claimed Homer dead  
Whose gates were shut against Homer living.

### The Late Mr. N. C. Kelkar

After the death of Bal. Gangadhar Tilak, Kelkar who has just passed away at the ripe old age of 75, was perhaps the most outstanding figure in Maharashtra. He continued to voice the Tilak tradition of "responsive co-operation" in politics, and for years played a leading role in Congress affairs. Yet he was a Congressman with a difference, unable temperamentally to take in the Gandhian gospel in its entirety. The present generation may not be well acquainted with the activities of Mr. Kelkar, who some two decades ago was a power to be reckoned with in the affairs of Maharashtra. He was a member of the Congress Working Committee and Deputy leader of the Swarajya party in the Central Assembly with Pandit Motilal Nehru as its leader. Since the early thirties, however he withdrew from active politics though he remained a Congressman to the last. It was said that the mantle of Lokamanya Tilak just missed the shoulders of his brilliant lieutenant.

Kelkar was a reputed journalist and prolific writer both in English and Marathi. He edited the Marathi bi-weekly *Kesari* and the English weekly *Mahratta* founded by the late Mr. Tilak—and both these papers became powerful organs of public opinion in his hands.

Almost of the same age as the Editor of this Review Mr. Kelkar was on terms of great cordiality with Mr. Natesan, and he seldom failed to respond to his requests for occasional contributions. It was characteristic of the man that even on the day previous to his death he was dictating an article in Marathi on current affairs. His writings bear ample evidence of his varied interests and intrepidity. The death of this veteran journalist removes not merely a Maharashtra of note but a distinguished Indian leader. What Shaw said of Sydney Webb is equally true of Kelkar. Kelkar

combined prodigious ability and encyclopaedic knowledge with active simplicity and integrity.... never courted popular favour or any other favour and was never in danger of becoming a humbug....

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

## Britain's Treaty with Burma

**B** RITAIN will hand over power to the new sovereign Independent Republic of Burma on January 6 next year under the terms of the Anglo-Burmese Treaty presented to the British Parliament on October 27.

The Treaty—which makes Burma the first country to leave the British Commonwealth—provides for the evacuation of British troops from Burma as soon as possible after the transfer of power. (Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, announced in Rangoon that the last British troops would leave Burma not later than February next year.)

Provision is made in the Defence Annex of the Treaty, however, for a British naval, military and air force mission in Burma which will supply instructional staff for the Burma Forces. Burma also agreed not to receive any such mission from any Government outside the Commonwealth.

Financial clauses of the Treaty include the cancellation of £15,000,000 of the money lent by Britain to Burma and the repayment of the remainder—believed to be about double this sum—in 20 annual instalments without interest from 1952.

The Treaty was presented to British Parliament together with a Bill to give effect to it.

## Powers of the House of Lords

The British Government's intention further to curtail the powers of the House of Lords by amending the Parliament Act of 1911 was announced in the King's speech while opening the new session of Parliament on 21st October.

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee, announced in the House of Commons that the intention of the Bill to amend the Parliament Act of 1911 was to reduce from two years to one the period for which the House of Lords could delay legislation.

## Palestine Mandate

Britain reaffirmed before the United Nations "beyond all doubt and ambiguity" that it was not only her decision to wind up the Palestine Mandate, but that within a limited period she would withdraw.

At the same time, Mr. Arthur Creech Jones, the British Colonial Secretary, warned the U. N. Palestine Committee that the British Government would not accept responsibility for enforcement either alone or in a major role, of the changes suggested by the United Nations.

Mr. Creech Jones, intervening in the U.N. Palestine Committee's protracted debate for the first time since the United States and Russian delegates had voiced support of Palestine partition, added:

We trust that the anxieties now felt in the Middle East about the present deliberations of the United Nations and their possible outcome will not lead to military preparation, or the deployment of force against the peoples concerned. We hope that no steps will be taken that will be provocative and result in violence.

## Brazil Breaks with Russia

Brazil has broken off diplomatic relations with Russia. The United States had been notified in advance of the intention to break off relations and had agreed to represent Brazilian interests immediately.

The U.S. State Department announced in Washington that the U.S. had agreed to watch Brazilian interests in Moscow. Asked by reporters whether the U.S. had given Brazil any advice on the severance of relations with Moscow, the State Department spokesman declared: "Emphatically no. Absolutely not."

A communique issued by the Brazilian Foreign Ministry stated that relations were broken off because of the "outrageous attacks against the Brazilian President and armed forces" by the Soviet Press. It added that Russia subsequently failed to reply to a formal Note of protest sent by Brazil, "on the pretext that it was written in unfriendly terms."



# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**CONQUEST OF SELF.** By M. K. Gandhi. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.

This is a collection of articles, and passages culled from interviews and replies to correspondents, touching the relation of the sexes that have appeared in Gandhi's own weekly from time to time. Gandhi holds radical views on many subjects and his opinion on sex problems constitute a direct challenge to those professed by the so-called "enlightened" and "progressive" society which generally takes its cue from the West. The compilers have done an excellent service in presenting Gandhi's views on a topic of profound interest. Needless to add that far from being dogmatic Gandhi presents his views with a compelling appeal to reason and good sense.

**THE AYAH and other stories.** By Gertrude Murray. Hind Kitabo Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 2/-.

Eight thrilling stories of absorbing interest make up this volume. Most of them reflect actual life, but the author has given them all a touch of romance by the intensity of emotion or peculiarity of character. The title story is purely realistic, narrating the earnest endeavours of an ayah to please her mistress and how every effort of hers fails in its attempt. The art of the author and the truth of every picture make the story very interesting. The romantic attachment to a statue and its tragic end, the magnificent generosity of a young widow, the cruelty of racial prejudice, the folly of romantic dreaming and similar themes are built into moving events in the other stories. Miss Murray has created some living and breathing characters, and the poetry, romance and truth that surround them give the stories a rare charm.

**THE ROAD FROM ROME.** By J. F. Samaranyake. Modern Age Publications, Bombay. Price Rs. 1-8.

In every man's spiritual life, if he is spiritually alive at all, there comes a period of darkness when he is unable to see anything spiritually positive. The author of this book is evidently in that stage. Being young and impatient he is madly hitting out and trying to break down what he knows, without being able to give any positive suggestion. His attack is mostly superficial and immature, and no one will profit by these ill-digested out-pourings. There is however one refreshing feature and that is there is evident an earnest hankering after understanding what may be the right and the true; and if the knowledge that is revealed does not lose itself in the arid wastes of vanity the author may be able to give us something fruitful and spiritually helpful.

**SYMPHONIC POEMS.** By Salvatore Cottina. Los Angeles, California. Price \$ 2'00.

A delicate sensibility, a spiritual warmth, a rare glimpse of the beautiful in word and thought—these are the prominent features of this book of poems. The author is well aware of modern advanced life and incorporates them into the poem: but like a true poet he is aware of essential spiritual deficiency. His address to Walt Whitman, Helen Keller and others and his lines called Moonlight and War Mother are truly poignant. But the most beautiful of the poems is Mother and Child Jesus, and the most powerful The Lesson of the Nations.



**RAPID VISIONS.** By Serapia Devi. R. S. R. J. Kapur, Lahore. Price Rs. 1.

Twenty-three short poems dealing with some of the common experiences of life make up this volume. Like many modern poems the real significance and meaning of some of these poems have to be guessed. But some of the poems enable the reader to feel the poetry of life. Yellow On Black, Vision, Drunkard, To the Moon, Hearth-magic and other small pieces give promise of better things to come.

**KASHMIR, TRADE AND TOUR 1947-48.** Edited by N. M. Miar, Secretary, Kashmir Chamber of Commerce and B. N. Miar, Lecturer, St. Joseph's College, Kashmir. Published by Rine Mieray, Srinagar. This is a handy and useful brochure, giving ample information on various aspects of life and scenes in Kashmir.

For the tourist there is a chapter on trekking; for the sportsman a list of trout waters with directions as to bait and for hunters a list of big and small game. An excellent address by Mr. A. K. Wattal, President of Chamber of Commerce, answers the needs of the tradesman. A list of members of Kashmir Chamber of Commerce is also given.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**DR. KUNHAN RAJA PRESENTATION, VOLUME. A** Volume of Indological Studies. Adyar Library, Madras.

**SELF-KNOWLEDGE.** By Swami Nikhilanda. Sri Ramakrishna Math, Myslapore, Madras.

**THE INDIAN LITERATURES OF TO-DAY.** Ed. by Bharatan Kumarappa. International Book House Ltd., Bombay.

**RAMA RAJYA.** By C. K. Menon, P. O. Kavalappara, Shoranur, Malabar.

**POEMS OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE.** By B. Narayanaiah, Tuticorin.

**DAWN OF WORLD GOVERNMENT.** By M. R. Bhalerao, Lashkar, Gwalior.

**INDIA.** By Swami Vivekananda.

**POEMS.** By Swami Vivekananda.

**CASTE, CULICAR AND SOCIALISM.** By Vivekananda. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora.

**INDO-MUSLIM CULTURE.** By V. Raghavendra Rao, Vichara Sahitya Ltd., Bangalore.

**THE GARAT NERUR.** By G. S. Bright. Tagore Memorial Publications, Lahore.

**THE BRAHMIN'S CURSE: A PLAY OF "KARMA".** By T. P. Kailasam. Madhava Sona, Bangalore.

**GANDHI ERA IN WORLD POLITICS.** By Y. G. Krishnamurti. Foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Madhava Sona, Bangalore City.

**GITA TAMIL (GOWDS IN TAMIL).** By K. M. Balasubramanian. Murugavel Book Depot, Royapettah.

**THOUGHTS FROM THE BIBLE.** Selected by the Churches and Pastors of America. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

**SUBLIMATION.** By J. Trevor Davies. Foreword by Dr. E. S. Waterhouse. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

**WORDS IN ACTION.** By Sir Philip Hartog. University of London Press, Ltd., London, E. C. 4.

**THE CAPITAL OF INDIA.** By C. Veerayya, M.A., LL.B. Bezwada.

**L. P. JAIN'S SANSKRIT LIPI (Short-Hand).** (English Pocket Edition.) Published by the inventor. L. P. Jain, Beawar, Rajputana.

**HINDU PSYCHOLOGY: Its meaning for the West.** By Swami Akhilananda (Harper & Bros., New York and London) Advaita Ashrama, Calcutta.

**SONG OF INDIA.** By Frank Clime. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.

**BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS SIND.** By C. L. Marjwala. With Foreword by Dr. A. D. Jarte, M.A., D.Litt. 25/1 Sehwan Colony, Subhas Ch. Bose, Ed., Karachi.

**FROM FAILURE TO FULFILMENT.** By John Martin. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

**A PLEA FOR THE MIXED ECONOMY.** By M. B. Masani. The National Information and Publications Ltd., Bombay.

**SELF-RESTRAINT vs. SELF-INDULGENCE.** By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

**TALKS AND PARABLES OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA.** Sri Ramakrishna Mutt, Myslapore.

**THE MARTIN AND HIS DOG.** By D. S. Sharma, M.A. Sri Ramakrishna Mutt, Myslapore.



# DIARY OF THE MONTH

- Oct. 1. Eight more districts of Madras go dry from to-day.
- Oct. 2. Gandhiji's 79th Birthday.
- Oct. 3. Syad Ali Zaheer appointed Ambassador in Iran.
- Oct. 4. Churchill indicts Labour Govt.
- Oct. 5. Government of India refuses to accept Junagadh's accession to Pakistan.
- Oct. 6. Mysore Congress leaders are released.
- Oct. 7. Bahawalpur joins Pakistan.
- Oct. 8. The French launch offensive against Viet Nam.
- Oct. 9. South Africa offers coal to Pakistan: Pakistan turns down the offer.
- Oct. 10. Mysore Government to set up an interim Government.
- Oct. 11. Mysore political prisoners set free.
- Oct. 12. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari opens the Bharati Mantap at Ettayapuram.
- Oct. 13. Mr. Sydney Webb is dead.
- Oct. 14. N. C. Kelkar is dead.
- Oct. 15. Border clashes in Kashmir: Pakistan troops reported involved.
- Oct. 16. India wins on S. W. Africa issue in U.N.A.
- Oct. 17. Mahatma Gandhi's call to U.N.A. to settle S. Africa-India issue.
- Oct. 18. Arab leaders refute Zionist claims in U. N. Committee.
- Oct. 19. Kashmir Darbar sends protest note to Pakistan.
- Oct. 20. The King proroguing Parliament appeals for Indo-Pakistan unity.
- Oct. 21. Labour Government announces Bill to curtail Lords' powers.
- Oct. 22. Coochib Cabinet resigns.
- Oct. 23. Congress Parliamentary Board advises modification of Zamindari Bill.
- Oct. 24. Interim Government for Mysore; new Ministers assume charge.
- Oct. 25. Afridia, soldiers of Pakistan army on leave, move towards Srinagar.
- Oct. 26. Kashmir Prime Minister in Delhi solicits India's help.
- Oct. 27. Kashmir accedes to Indian Union.
- Oct. 28. Asian Labour Conference meets at Delhi.
- Oct. 29. The Hyderabad delegation resigns.
- Oct. 29. Sheikh Abdullah outlines Interim Government policy.
- Oct. 30. India makes Tariff pacts with 12 countries.
- Oct. 31. Kashmir situation under control.

## THE ROYAL WEDDING



PRINCESS ELIZABETH



LT. PHILIP MOUNTBATTEN



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

The Wilsonian theory of self determination has been much misunderstood and misused. As a result, it has, so far as this country is concerned, already produced many unhappy consequences. What really did President Roosevelt say and mean when he proclaimed the theory of self determination, asks Prof D N. Bannerjee in the *Hindustan Review*. In the course of an address delivered on 11th February, 1918, before a joint session of the two Houses of Congress, in reply to the address of the Imperial German Chancellor and the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs at that time, President Wilson first declared:—

What is at stake now is the peace of the world. "What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice,—no mere peace of shreds and patches.. National aspirations must be respected, peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."

He then laid down, without stopping here, the following four principles as the "foundations" on which "a general peace" could be "erected" and a new international order based:—

1. "Each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent." (2) "Peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now for a discredited, of the balance of power". (3) "Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states." (4) "All well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism."

It is evident from these principles, argues Prof. Bannerjee, that the right of self-determi-

nation was not to be, even according to President Wilson, its chief protagonist, an absolute and unqualified right. It is particularly to be noticed that he laid down that peoples and provinces, were not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, that every territorial settlement must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned; and that all well-defined national aspirations were to be accorded the utmost satisfaction that could be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism. Peoples often forget these limitations imposed on the right of self-determination by President Wilson himself, when they talk about this right, or base any claim on it.

## INDIA AFTER PARTITION

Notwithstanding the secession of Pakistan, India still remains India, says the *Indian Social Reformer*. "In the olden days cutting off of ears was a common punishment for social offences but the man who had his ears cut off, did not lose his identity. Secession of Pakistan may be likened to the cutting off of India's two ears but India remains India all the same. The deprivation of ears does not even affect her power of hearing.

It only prevents her from sporting a pair of pretty earrings. The skill of Indian statesmen may like the art of the plastic surgeon even give her a new pair of ears. Eastern Bengal and Western Punjab will surely be reunited to India if a malevolent fate does not interrupt this natural process. As for Sind, it is a child of the Indus as Egypt is that of the Nile, her destiny is inextricably linked with that of the land of the five rivers. We need not, therefore, take a pessimistic view of the present partition."

### THE MAKING OF THE CHILD

Childhood, is no longer considered an age of stupid nothingness, to be whiled away in embracing and kissing but is looked upon as a period of the greatest importance, writes Principal Teja Singh in the *Aryan Path*.

It is only recently that the child has come into his own. He is endowed with his own personality, claiming our attention for his own sake, and getting his due as a being at least as significant as any grownup. "This is the reason why his nursery, his pram, his school, his picture-books and his play have acquired so much importance. This is the reason that the task of his upbringing—as that of a prince—has grown beyond the capacity of his parents and is being entrusted more and more to a well-equipped school, which to serve its true purpose must become a second home. It is not that the parents have become less fond of him; only his care has become more involved and more responsible, and requires to be placed in more expert hands."

Food has something to do with the formation of the child's mind. The Sikh food, observes the Principal, is supposed to be the most nourishing kind of food in India.

"It consists of wheaten bread, butter, lassi (a preparation of churned milk) and vegetables, varied now and then with meat. It gives good health and plenty of healthy normal affections. The Sikh parents love their children, and the modern conditions have not diminished their love. Only mothers do not want to have many children, and they take care to space them properly, so that they may have health enough to look after them. Still more daughters die among them than sons, who seem to have more care from their parents. Mothers bestow much attention on the toilette of their sons, who are decked out like girls and are taken out with great pride. Educated parents, however, are as fond of their daughters as of their sons. Only their love is less foolish and more wise."

The truth of the above statement has been constantly vouched for by references to the state of affairs in the health magazines etc. The only trouble is that the writers rarely seek for the causes.

"We hope, therefore, that when India is to be reconstructed our planners will keep in mind the needs of the human being—body, mind and spirit—apart from the material needs of the animal man. Unless our plan is comprehensive of these various aspects of human development, our planning will be not only futile but derogatory to the progress of mankind."

### CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN CHINA

The first number of *The Sino-Indian Journal* has a sumptuous fare dealing with topics of mutual interest to China and India. It is heartening to see that in China religious differences in no way deflect people's patriotism for the land of their birth or adoption. Thus Mr. C. E. Abraham who has visited China and observed the people at close quarters gives this pleasing account of the Christian Church in old Cathay.

One of the more pleasing things about the Church in China, observes the writer, is "the way it is getting integrated into the life of the nation. In point of age Protestant Christianity in China is but a new comer in comparison with other religions, but yet it is far from being an exotic growth. Christians are no suspected of being anti-national but are generally welcomed for their spirit of brotherhood and service. They enjoy the confidence of their fellow-citizens, and some of the Christian leaders occupy positions of great honour and responsibility in the

State. The service that the Christian Church has rendered during the war to victims of war and famine, such as wounded and disabled soldiers and refugees, is one that may be written in letters of gold. Chinese Christianity is truly catholic in its outlook. It lays little store by the petty distinctions on points of dogma or ritual that are much in evidence in certain other parts of the world. Chinese Christianity is colour-blind and label-proof. Further, the leadership of the Church is in the hands of nationals and the spirit of co-operation that exists between Chinese Christian leaders and foreign missionaries is such as shed lustre on the foresight and generosity of the western Missionary Societies working in China. Though there is an ideological conflict in the political field, there is no communal problem in China such as there is in India and the credit for this is due, apart from the common sense of the Chinese people, to the spirit of unity engendered by the cultural patterns produced by the different religions including Christianity. This is something of which any country may be proud. The Chinese Church is national as well as catholic in spirit and in this she has interpreted aright the spirit of Christianity."

### INDIA IN PERIODICALS

PRE-ARYAN ART IN SOUTH INDIA. By T. N. Srinivasan, M.A. [Silpi, September 1947.]

THE IDEAL OF INDIAN WOMANHOOD. By Miss Shafali Gupta, M.A. [The Indian Woman's Civic Corps Journal, October 1947.]

SHOULD THE ZAMINDARS GO? By Y. De Steenhault. [The New Review, October 1947.]

PARAMOUNT AND INDIAN STATES. By Dr. Bool Chand. [India and the World, September 1947.]

ASHOKA WHEEL IS EMBLEM OF SERVICE AND PEACE. By Bhikshu Motteyya. [The Buddhist, Oct. 1947.]

### SHANKARA, THE PILGRIM TEACHER

One hundred and fifty years before Shankara, Huen Tsang came to India and he was struck by the intellectual curiosity of the people of this country, their eagerness for knowledge, readiness to accept new ideas and interest in education, observes Swami Ranganathananda in the '*Prabuddha Bharata*'. "Himself a great scholar, he came here to learn; to slake his thirst for intellectual and spiritual knowledge. That is the kind of atmosphere in which Shankara lived and worked, with nothing but his keen intellect and deep conviction to help him. Whenever such a personality appears in such a context we can expect to find the birth of a mighty ideology capable of changing the thought and life patterns of a people."

Shankara never remained at a place for long; he went about as a peripatetic teacher; as a result of his ceaseless striving we have the unity of Hinduism and Hindu culture of which we are so proud to-day. "But after 1000 years, to-day, we are face to face with a more complex situation. To bring unity not only in Hinduism but in India as a whole, in which all religions and cultures can find a harmonious blending, is a task that remains for us to accomplish to-day. This is the challenge of the present age to the genius of India. The work of synthesis which we have successfully carried on in every epoch of history is there to inspire us, and Shankara's method and manner are there as a guide for us. He was a teacher of unity. His spirit was universal. He taught not merely toleration, but also dynamic acceptance. Herein lies the value of his work to us: 'Wherever there is emphasis on unity there is knowledge whose fruit is concord and happiness and beneficence; and wherever there is emphasis on diversity it is ignorance and results in conflict and misery,' says Shankara. We need badly to-day the message of that unity based on understanding and leading to concord."

### DIALECTRICAL NATIONALISM

Prof. M. Rethnaswamy, writing in the *New Review* for September, points out that the Two-Nation theory on which the present constitutional edifice for India is to be set up is built on a Nationalism that 'is the result of Dialectics between the British, the Congress and the Muslim League

"But an edifice built on Dialectics cannot last long. Just as the Materialism of Russia is bound to be short-lived because it is against the whole social and religious history and make up of the people of Russia, similarly a polity built on the Dialectic Nationalism of the Muslim League and the Congress will not last long. Nature and history will have their revenge. The hard school of experience will show a better way. But mischief has been done. And a generation at least will suffer from the mistakes of people who will not follow the advice of the Greek thinkers and see life steadily and see it whole."

But the battle for India need not be given up as irretrievably lost. On all of us that believe in India is laid the duty of saving what we can of the wreckage of Indian unity and with these broken bits build the India of the future.

"There are still left to us traces and memories of a common love of India, of the land of India, of a common civilization and culture, of a common historical and political experience, of common administrative work and organization. Even those that have separated from India may find it worth their while to have some kind or measure of common defence, of a common customs policy, of a common food policy, of co-operative economic effort in regard to irrigation, hydro-electric works, university education, scientific research and industrial location. If Pakistan and India cannot have a common government, let them at least have a co-operative system of political effort for the good of India."

### INDUSTRIALIZATION IN WEST

High industrialization of a country leads to more mentally deficient persons—this is the theme of an article by Sri J. C. Kumarappa in *Gram Udyog Patrika*.

We have been constantly pointing out, he writes, that work is a medium of education. It is through work the man expresses himself and learns more about the environment and the science of what he is doing. When properly directed, work should be the main channel through which a human being develops to his full stature. It is from this principle that the Talim Sangh is developing its technique of education through a craft.

It follows from this that if work is not given in a fully balanced form, the development of the worker also will become eccentric or lopsided. Evidence of this can be looked for in the countries where large scale industries have replaced handicrafts. The best illustration of such a state of affairs is to be found in the United States of America. In a volume of *Five Minute Biographies* by Dale Carnegie, the following observation appears:

"There are more patients suffering from mental diseases in the hospitals of America than from all other diseases combined. One student out of every 16 at school there today will spend part of his life in an insane asylum. If you are in 15 years of age, the chances are 1 out of 20 that you will be confined in an institution for the mentally ill for 7 years of your life. During the last decade, mental diseases have almost doubled. If this appalling rate of increase continues for another century, half the entire population will be in the insane asylum and the other half will be outside trying to support them by taxes."

# INDIAN STATES

## Hyderabad

### DRAFT AGREEMENT

The Hyderabad Delegation's negotiations with the Government of India are reported to have been concluded "for the time being" and the State Delegation to report to the Nizam has flown back to Hyderabad.

The outcome of the talks is as yet uncertain. According to a well-informed source "the temperature has been unsteady". A draft agreement covering a period of twelve months, has, it is believed, resulted from the current talks. But the details of this agreement are a closely guarded secret and subject to ratification by His Exalted Highness the Nizam.

It is realised that there are two "principals" to the negotiations namely, the Government of India, and the Nizam. The negotiations on behalf of the Government of India are being conducted by the Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten personally assisted by Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary of the States Ministry. They are presumably briefed by and are answerable to the Cabinet while the Delegation from Hyderabad must necessarily report to the Nizam and secure his approval.

The issue appears to centre round an agreement which is "neither accession" nor a "treaty" between the Hyderabad State and the Indian Dominion in regard to External Affairs, Defence and Communications. It is generally assumed that the difficulty had been in regard to the first two subjects and a draft agreement has been produced, which requires to be ratified by the "principals" in one case the Indian Cabinet and the other, the Nizam.

### NIZAM'S AGENT IN BERAR

It is understood that Nawab Yusuf Yar Jung Bahadur has been appointed Nizam's Agent in Berar in place of Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung Bahadur.

## Mysore

### THE MYSORE AGREEMENT

The Maharaja of Mysore has been graciously pleased to signify his approval to the understanding that has been arrived at between the Dewan of Mysore and the President of the State Congress regarding the reconstitution of the Ministry and the setting up of a Constituent Assembly, says an official communique released from the Dewan's residence on October 13.

"The following are the terms of the agreement:

"Reconstitution of the Ministry: The Present Ministry shall be dissolved and a fresh Ministry constituted. The Mysore Congress will make recommendations for the Ministry after consultation with such other parties as may be deemed appropriate regarding non-Congress Ministers.

"The Ministry shall consist of not less than nine members of whom not less than six will be Congress and not less than three chosen from parties outside the Congress. The Ministry shall remain in office so long as it enjoys the confidence of the Legislature.

"One of the Ministers chosen from the Congress will be appointed Chief Minister.

"Constituent Assembly: The new Ministry shall immediately set up a Constituent Assembly composed of elected representatives of the people. The Constituent Assembly will be entrusted with the task of framing a Constitution Bill for the State, based on full Responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness. The new Constitution shall come into force on or before July 1, 1948."

### RELEASE OF SATYAGRAHIS

By another Communique issued by the Government consequent on the termination of the Satyagraha, the Government have ordered the release of all detenus and under-trials connected with the satyagraha movement.

## Baroda

### NEW DEWAN OF BARODA

H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda has appointed Mr. S. A. Sudhalkar to act as Dewan of Baroda from October 1, 1947, following the retirement of Sir B. L. Mitter.

Mr. Sudhalkar has been Minister for Education, Railways and Public Works in the State Executive Council from April, 1946. He acted as Chief Justice of the Baroda High Court before he was made a member of the State Executive Council and was also Constitutional Adviser to the Maharaja of Jodhpur for a short period.

### GANDHIJI'S STATUE FOR BARODA

A full-size statue of Mahatma Gandhi in bronze is to be erected in the heart of Baroda to commemorate the services of Mahatma Gandhi to the nation in achieving independence. The statue is estimated to cost about Rs. 50,000.

An appeal has been issued by the Baroda State Prajamandal Party to the public for raising a fund for this purpose.

A Committee has been appointed to supervise the work and it is expected that the work will be completed before the end of this year.

## Indore

### NATIONAL FLAG UNFURLED

Amidst scenes of enthusiasm, the Maharaja Holkar of Indore unfurled the tricolour flag of the Indian Dominion on the grounds of the Edward Town Hall on October 11.

Addressing an audience of over 50,000 people, His Highness exhorted the majority community to give full protection to the minority communities. He paid a glowing tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhai Patel for their services to the Indian Nation.

The Maharaja announced that the Town Hall would henceforth be named "Gandhi Hall", and a statue of Mahatma Gandhi would be erected at a suitable site.

## Kashmir

### KASHMIR'S NOTE TO PAKISTAN

Kashmir is being subjected by Pakistan to various economic difficulties, like interference with the supply of foodgrains and other essential goods and the stoppage of transport and financial facilities, in violation of Standstill Agreements, states the Kashmir Government in a Note to the Governor-General and the Premier of the Pakistan Government.

Added to this, Pakistan people and officials, armed with powerful firearms, are committing various horrors on the non-Muslims of Kashmir. And the Pakistan Government itself is egging on feudatory States to threaten armed intervention in Kashmir State, states the Note.

The Kashmir Government considers these acts of Pakistan as inimical and, if they are not promptly put a stop to, the Kashmir Government would have to seek friendly assistance to check this menace to the State's fundamental rights, the communication concludes.

### BORDER SKIRMISHES

Border skirmishes between Pakistan and Kashmir troops have taken place, according to the Editor of *Tribune*, Rana Jang Bahadur, in a statement issued from Jullundur after his return from Srinagar. He also said that the Pakistan Government had started an economic blockade of Kashmir.

Meanwhile, the Kashmir Government have issued a statement denouncing false propaganda against the State carried on by Pakistan Radio and Press with a view to "coercing the State to accede to Pakistan."

### PRIME MINISTER OF KASHMIR

Mr. Mehr Chand, Judge of the East Punjab High Court, who served on the Punjab Boundary Commission, has been appointed Prime Minister of Kashmir State. He was sworn in on October 15.

**Travancore****TRAVANCORE DETENUS**

Under orders of the Government all State Congress detenues detained in the Central Prison have been released and these include Messrs. C. Kesavan, Kumbalathu Sanku Pillai, G. P. Nilakanda Pillai and K. E. V. Kesavan and Miss Anne Mascarene.

**Cochin****SARDAR PATEL AND COCHIN RULER**

"I hope that we shall be able to march forward with trust, confidence, and understanding in each other, and that we shall have your Highness's co-operation and support in the difficult tasks which lie ahead of us, says Sardar Vallabhai Patel, States' Minister, Government of India, in a communication to the Maharaja of Cochin expressing appreciation of the patriotic services by the Maharaja to cause of India's political progress.

After thanking the Maharaja for the State's accession to the Dominion of India, Sardar Patel says:

"None knows better than your Highness in what atmosphere we all had to work, and what intrigues we had to encounter from various reactionary forces. Attempts were being made again and again to sabotage the whole scheme, and give a death-blow to our ideal of strong united, and powerful India. Fortunately for us, all those efforts failed due to unswerving loyalty to the cause of united India shown by your Highness and other patriotic Rulers and Ministers of States.

"I am fully conscious of the trouble taken by you to dispel doubts and misgivings, deliberately created to mislead Princely Order.

The Maharaja in his reply stated: "All is well that ends well. Let us hope a strong India will emerge as a result of selfless, and unceasing efforts of you and your colleagues. If, in any little measure, I can render help to you no one will be gladder than I."

**Bhopal****INFLUX OF REFUGEES INTO BHOPAL**

The Government of Bhopal have promulgated an Ordinance to control the steady influx of refugees into the State, who are unofficially estimated to number nearly 30,000. The authorities are said to be anxiously watching the dwindling food stocks resulting from the influx of refugees.

The Ordinance gives the Government power to prevent the entry of refugees into the State and preserve peace. Volunteers drawn from all sections of the public are assisting the Refugee Commissioner's Department in attending to the housing, food, medical and clothing needs of the refugees.

**Pudukottah****PROCLAMATION OF RULER**

H. H. the Raja of Pudukottah has issued a Proclamation stating that the new status attained by India points to the desirability of establishing full Responsible Government in the State.

The Proclamation states that a Constituent Assembly shall be set up to devise and formulate a constitution providing for Responsible Government.

**Junagadh****PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE OF ACTION**

The Executive Committee of the Kathiawar Political Conference has appointed a Committee of Action consisting of Mr. Samaldas Gandhi, Head of the Junagadh Provisional Government, and two others to take all steps for asserting the right of Junagadh subjects to self-determination and establishment of a Responsible Government in the State.

The Committee has by a resolution, expressed the determination of all Kathiawar people to carry on Junagadh's struggle to victory.



# INDIANS OVERSEAS

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## South Africa

### MEMORANDUM TO U. N. DELEGATES

The Natal Indian organisation (Moderates) in a memorandum airmailed to all U.N.O. delegates said that the 'Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act' had been applied in such a manner that it was segregating and economically strangling Indians just as the South African Indians feared.

The local authorities and Europeans were taking advantage of the Indian oppositions to the Act to get big areas excised from the scheduled areas for Indians and transferred to those reserved for Europeans. The boycott of Indians started since the U.N.O. resolution last year was continuing. European financial houses were not lending money to Indians and Indian unemployment was growing. Municipalities were dismissing Indians and engaging Europeans. Nothing had been done for the extension of Indian education since the resolution was passed.

The memorandum added that only a Round Table Conference between India, Pakistan and South Africa could end the deadlock.

### MR. KAJEE REFUTES ALLEGATIONS

Mr. A. I. Kaje, a prominent member of the Natal Indian Organisation and the sponsor of the South African Goodwill Mission to India and Pakistan, denounced the suggestion that the object of the South African Goodwill Mission to the two Indian Dominions was to sabotage the Indian case before the meeting of the United Nations General Assembly, and to "have a High Commissioner from Pakistan."

He described as "preposterous and malicious" and intended to "vilify" him in the eyes of the Indians, the allegations that General Smuts had intimidated him into sending the Goodwill Mission.

## South West Africa

### TRUSTEESHIP FOR S. W. AFRICA

The United Nations Trusteeship Committee has adopted the Indian resolution calling on the South African Government to submit a Trust Agreement for the Mandated territory of South-West Africa before the next session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Colonial Powers like Britain, France, Holland, and Belgium, as well as the British Dominions and the United States, voted against the resolution, while Arab States, Pakistan, and the Russian bloc supported it.

## West Indies

### INDIANS IN WEST INDIES

The Indian Government considers the present time most inopportune for immigrants to return to India from the West Indies as "conditions in many areas are unsettled and the food position is causing concern." In a letter, dated May 22, the Indian Government asked the British Guiana Government not to take irrevocable steps for chartering a ship before the Indian Government had been given the opportunity to examine applications for repatriation.

## Burma

### EQUAL TREATMENT FOR INDIANS

The Burma Government has clarified their policy regarding the future of Indians in Burma, particularly of Indians in Government service.

A Burma Government Press Note said: "Many of the Indian residents in Burma will be entitled to Burma citizenship without further action on their part under Section 11 of the Constitution Act. Many others will be entitled under the same Section to become citizens of Burma by election within the time prescribed by law. Indians, who do not yet qualify as citizens of Burma, will be able, if they so desire, to acquire Burma citizenship under such naturalisation laws as may be enacted by the Union Parliament."

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS † DEPARTMENTAL † NOTES .

## Questions of Importance

### DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR INDIA

The draft constitution drawn up for consideration and adoption by the Constituent Assembly of India embodies the decisions already arrived at by the Constituent Assembly and also enumerates the "directive principles" which will govern the policy of the State.

The draft report says that the State shall strive "to promote the welfare of the whole people by securing and protecting a social order in which social, economic and political justice shall inform all institutions of national life."

The draft will be presented to the Constituent Assembly when it meets in December, after completing its legislative session in November.

The preamble to the draft constitution recites: "We, the people of India, seeking to promote the common good, do hereby, through our chosen representatives, enact, adopt and give ourselves this constitution."

The broad outlines of the draft constitution lay down that India shall be a Federation and each unit of the Federation shall be called a "State." As from the date of the commencement of the constitution, the territories of the Federation shall consist of the Governors' Provinces, the Chief Commissioners' Provinces and those Indian States which are included in the Schedule to the constitution. These States shall be called the Federated States.

Besides incorporating the decisions already taken by the Constituent Assembly relating to the Union and the Provincial Constitutions, the draft constitution lays down the "directive principles" governing the policy of the State.

Observing that the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the whole people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice—social, economic and political—shall inform all institutions of national life, the draft constitution enumerates certain justiciable principles of policy to be followed by the State.

### KING'S APPEAL FOR INDO-PAKISTAN AMITY

Welcoming the two new Dominions of India and Pakistan, the King, in his Prorogation speech to Parliament, on October 20, said: "In July, I assented to the Indian Independence Act under which, on August 15, two new Dominions, India and Pakistan, came into being. Thus was brought to fruition the declared policy of Parliament that the peoples of British India should achieve complete autonomy within the British Commonwealth. I trust the most cordial relations will rule between India and Pakistan and the other members of the British Commonwealth.

"The relationship which had so long subsisted between the Crown and the Ruling Princes of India has inevitably also changed. I acknowledge with gratitude the loyalty and devotion of the Indian Rulers to myself and to my Royal predecessors and I hope that in association with India and Pakistan their ties with the Commonwealth will endure. . . .

"I am grieved at the grave disorders now occurring in India and Pakistan. My sympathy goes out to the Governments and peoples of both Dominions in their present troubles and especially to the refugees now seeking new homes."

## Utterances of the Day

### PANDIT NEHRU'S WARNING TO THE NATION

"Even during the days of our slavery, the mighty Imperialism could not suppress us, but the communal outbreaks in the country have imposed restrictions on our freedom.

"Whosoever creates disorder in the country, tends to shake the foundation of our newly-born freedom, whatever be the intentions of those who disturb the internal peace, they are the enemies of the country," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at the Aminudaula Park Lucknow on October 19.

Warning the people against the danger which attended the disturbances, Pandit Nehru said that the internal disorders made it impossible for the nation to resist outside aggression be it from Pakistan or from any other foreign country. Whatever be the intentions of those who disturb the internal peace, they are the enemies of the country.

He added: "At this critical moment in the history of our nation, when we are functioning on a world stage and the eyes of the world are upon us and the suppressed countries of Asia are looking to us for hope and inspiration we must not fall, we must not falter."

### DR LOHIA ON FUTURE OF PAKISTAN

Addressing a public meeting Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia said that those who were shouting for a Hindu State would achieve only disruption and disintegration. This would break up the country into different States. The slogan of Hindu State would result not in one Hindu State but in a Sikh State and so on.

Dr. Lohia said: "Pakistan will have to go in one of three ways. Firstly either the population of Pakistan will overthrow the League Government and establish a

secular State and reunite with India; secondly, new leaders of Pakistan may realise the folly of the two-nation theory and change their ways and enter into agreements with us and start from being a confederate and once again become a single India; thirdly, war."

Dr. Lohia declared: "Pakistan will disappear within the next five years." The same was the fate of the Muslim League, which had disappeared from the Indian Union even to-day. The Muslims must no longer let the Muslim League run within the Indian Union and if there were still some Muslims who spoke on behalf of the Muslim League, their activities must be banned. In a secular State, he added, no organisation should be allowed to take part in politics which based itself on exclusiveness."

### PANT'S APPEAL TO MUSLIMS

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, Prime Minister of the United Provinces, recently posed the question whether the Muslims of the Indian Union would shed their blood fighting Pakistan troops if Pakistan invaded India.

That, he said was the real test of loyalty, although he hoped that such an eventuality would not arise. He asked Indian Muslims to search their own hearts and said that those Muslims who had even a shadow of doubt in their minds had better migrate to Pakistan.

The Prime Minister, who was addressing a meeting at Purshotamdas Park, made an impassioned appeal to the citizens of Allahabad to maintain peace and communal amity and said that the Government were well prepared and would not tolerate any lawlessness in the Province. He assured the Muslim minority all possible security but added that only those who professed cent per cent. loyalty to the Indian Union could have a place in the State.

## GHAZANFAR, ALI'S TRIBUTE TO GANDHI AND NEHRU

Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pakistan's Food Minister, speaking at Rawalpindi on Oct. 19 paid glowing tributes to Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru for their "laudable efforts" for peace and inter-communal goodwill in the Indian Union and said that but for them the Indian Muslims would have found themselves in a more pitiable plight. "Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru," he added, "are doing their level best to save the Indian Muslims from the onslaughts of the unruly and lawless elements. By their genuine efforts they are not only restoring peace in certain disturbed parts of the Union but are contributing towards the peace of the world. But so long as Gandhi and Nehru exercised influence over the Indian masses the world could look up to them with hope and confidence.

## BRITISH TROOPS IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

A Press note issued by the Supreme Commander's Secretariat states:—Now that all British officers and other ranks serving in India and Pakistan have been notified that their present engagements will end on December 31, it is expected that the Government of India and Pakistan will shortly make public the terms and conditions they are prepared to offer to British officers and other ranks whom they may wish to ask to volunteer to serve in their respective Armed Forces after December 31.

## INDIAN C.-IN-C. FOR INDIA

India will have an Indian as Commander-in-Chief from January 1, 1948.

It is understood that the Government of India have decided that as a matter of principle an Indian should hold command of the country's armed forces.

## HINDI AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IN U.P.

The U. P. Government have issued their first Government order in Hindi. It declares Hindi, the language of the people of the Province, written in Devanagri script as the State language of the Province.

Hindi will henceforward be the recognised language for use in official work and correspondence. This step is being taken to implement the resolution, recommending adoption of Hindi in Devanagri script as the State language of the Province, passed by the U. P. Legislative Council as its last session.

## SALARIES OF EAST PUNJAB MINISTERS

By an Ordinance issued by the Governor of East Punjab, the salaries of the Ministers of the East Punjab Government have been fixed. The salary of the Premier has been fixed at Rs 24,000 a year and of other Ministers at Rs. 13,000. In addition, there will be a conveyance allowance of Rs 3,600 a year, besides a free furnished house, for each of the Ministers.

The provisions of the Ordinance shall have effect from August 15, 1947.

## CENTRAL GOVT.'S LOAN TO BENGAL

Both the East and West Bengal groups of the Separation Council have agreed to move their respective Central Governments for the exemption of a certain portion of the Government of India's special loan to Bengal which amounts to seven crores of rupees

It is stated that from that loan, Rs. 75 lakhs were spent on civil defence: Rs. 67 lakhs on the Damodar Bridge and Rs. 21 lakhs on the 'Grow More Food' campaign.

The reason for seeking exemption of this amount, it is learnt, is that the sum was spent on defence measures during the war period when Bengal was regarded as a frontier Province.

# Educational

## CALCUTTA 'VARSITY CONVOCATION

The first Convocation of the Calcutta University presided over by an Indian Chancellor was held on October 3. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Governor of West Bengal, presided, and Sir Jnan Chandra Ghosh, Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, delivered the address.

Dr. Jnan Chandra Ghosh, in his Convocation address, emphasised the need for establishing a United Bengal Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation—UBESCO, as he called it—charged with the duties of maintaining the cultural unity of Bengal, although the Province had been partitioned. The organisation, he said, should be adequately financed by the Governments of India and Bengal. The organisation should be competent to tackle successfully the task of reconciling the people in the eastern frontier of India, who had parted company in peace only under the superhuman influence of Mahatma Gandhi.

Addressing the students, the Chancellor said that those who received their degrees to-day unofficially constituted members of the organisation suggested by Dr. Ghosh. "All of you are officially charged with the duty of maintaining the unity of culture in Bengal, if not in India. It is your duty, wherever you may be, to faithfully and sincerely carry the message of goodwill, the mission of tolerance and the spirit of courage, in place of the spirit of fear and suspicion."

The Chancellor urged all the Universities in India to accept the mother-tongue of the Province as the medium of instruction and said: "Governments may be separated. But the culture of India is indivisible and cannot be divided even by artificial means"

Universities, he said, were not merely for Convocation meetings and manufacture of graduates. They must be the fountain source of all life activities guided in a cultured and civilised manner. "If our boys and girls have to help the country, we must change the method of education in

the Universities, thereby, inspiring changes in lower institutions also. You must remember that your education is now for altogether a different purpose. Your education is not the education of a slave or a servant. Your education is for the fulfilled citizenship of India. You must take education for productive purposes not merely for getting jobs. You will carry on the mission of trust, goodwill and courage and tolerance and not bellicosity, fear and suspicion":

## TASK BEFORE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

Delivering the Convocation Address of the Madras University Mr. B. G. Kher, Prime Minister of Bombay, said: "Unless we can quicken the social conscience of students and make them more mindful of their duties than of their rights, there is danger that the conflicts and dissensions which disfigure our national life to-day may gain greater momentum and the freedom that we have achieved with so much labour may be jeopardised."

Mr. Kher expressed the view that the Universities must dedicate themselves to educating young men and women into the duties of democratic citizenship and develop in them the qualities of discipline, responsibility and co-operation.

## REFORM OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Addressing the Annamalai University Convocation Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, Premier of Madras, stressed the need for re-shaping the present system of education so that it might serve the people better in the social, economic and spiritual spheres.

Advising the new graduates to pursue a dedicated and austere life, the Premier exhorted them to preserve the rich cultural heritage of our country.

Stressing the value of Basic Education, Mr. Reddiar expressed the hope that Gandhiji's scheme would be adopted throughout the country.

## NO INTERFERENCE WITH COURSE OF JUSTICE

Mahatma Gandhi in his post-prayer speech at Delhi on October 21 stressed the importance of the State following prescribed rules, for only then could administration be kept pure and justice secured to everyone. He warned Ministers against interfering with the course of justice even for their dearest ones.

In some places, he said, authority had arrested several people who were implicated in rioting. Under the old regime people appealed for clemency to the Viceroy who had to follow prescribed rules however faulty they were. Now they appealed to their Ministers. Were they to act according to their own sweet will? He thought not. The Ministers could not act capriciously. They were bound to let the law take its own course. Clemency of the state had a definite place to be exercised under due safeguard. What he wanted to stress was that no Minister had the right to interfere with the course of justice even for his dearest ones. It was the function of democracy to make justice cheap and expeditious and to ensure all possible purity in the administration. But for Ministers to dare to replace or influence courts of justice was the very negation of democracy and law.

## EAST PUNJAB HIGH COURT

Diwan Ram Lal, at present a Puisne Judge of the Lahore High Court, is appointed to be Chief Justice of the High Court of East Punjab.

Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, Sardar Bahadur Teja Singh, Mr. Amarnath Bhandari, Mr. Achru Ram and Mr. Gopal Das Khosla, at present Puisne Judges of the Lahore High Court, are appointed to be Puisne Judges of the High Court of East Punjab.

## SMUGGLING OF ARMS IN C.P.

Following the find of alleged stolen arms and ammunition in and around Jubbulpore, the C. P. police searched the residences of two Muslim military officers at Itarsi and have recovered more arms and arrested them.

The police have also arrested two Muslim police officers at Gadawara, 100 miles from Jubbulpore, when their residences were searched and arms recovered.

A round-up of the position since September 20 shows that, in all, over 90,000 rounds of ammunition, a number of revolvers pistols, bombs and mines were recovered from wells, dust-bins and mullahs. They were all thrown there by those who had them in their possession with a view to escape arrest. Among the arrested persons are Driver H. Hill of the G.I.P. Railway, Subedar-Major Shamsuddin and Mohammed Sattar and Quaiyum who were orderlies of Lt.-Col. Ashley Jones who has already been arrested.

## PRESS LAWS INQUIRY COMMITTEE

The Government of India appointed in March, 1947, a Committee to review the laws relating to the Press in India with a view to bringing them into line with the Press laws of other progressive countries.

Due to constitutional changes, certain vacancies have occurred and the following have been appointed members of the Press Laws Inquiry Committee in these vacancies: Sri Mohan Lal Saxena, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan and Mr. Hossain Imam, members of the Constituent Assembly, in place of Messrs. Sri Prakasa, Khurshid Ali Khan and Siddiq Ali Khan.

In addition to the two original terms of reference, the Committee will also review the press laws of India and will also view to examining how far they are in accord with the fundamental rights formulated by the Constituent Assembly.

# Insurance

## ROLE OF INSURANCE COMPANIES

"Insurance Companies have a very big job before them in making people insurance-minded. Until a determined effort has been made by all the companies to carry the message of general insurance to every person in need of insurance cover, the insurance companies cannot be said to have discharged their duties", said Mr. H. Sitarama Reddi, Minister for Industries, presiding over the first annual Conference of the South India Insurance Association, Madras, on October 19.

The Minister said that insurance was an essential service without which it would be impossible for commerce and industry to develop. He was glad to learn that the companies operating in South India had formed themselves into an association for closer co-operation amongst themselves and he hoped they would develop it into a strong and powerful body.

South India, the Minister continued, had lagged behind other provinces in India in the development of trade and industry and consequently insurance business here was still backward. But the Government had plans for the industrial development of this province and he was sure that Indian insurance companies would keep themselves fully prepared to meet the greater demand for insurance protection of all kinds that was likely to arise in the wake of such industrial development. As regards the problems that would have to be tackled by insurance companies in the coming years, Mr. Sitarama Reddi said that first and foremost he would stress the importance of the service which insurance companies were expected to render to their policy-holders. This service could only be rendered through the medium of an agent or other representative who would be in immediate contact with the policy-holder. Insurance companies should make every possible effort to train their representatives for this purpose and he believed their association would be a

suitable organisation to set up a training institution for all insurance workers.

Three resolutions were adopted at the Conference. The first resolution urged that insurance business of all concerns in India, local bodies and Governments, should be placed with Indian insurance companies and requested the insuring public, local bodies and the Government to do so.

The second resolution expressed the view that in order to get efficient service to policy-holders rendered both by insurance agents and the staff of insurance companies, the insurance companies should encourage the agents and their staff to undergo training in insurance on scientific lines and that an organisation for the purpose should be set up.

By the third resolution, the Conference noted that the Exchange Banks operating in India discriminate against the policies issued by Indian Insurance companies covering general insurance risks and requested Government to safeguard the interests of the Indian insurance companies adequately.

## RUBY INSURANCE IN LAHORE

Speaking at the Eleventh General Meeting of the Shareholders of the Ruby General Insurance Company, Limited, on the 27th September, 1947, Mr. B. M. Birla, said:

The disturbances which have taken place in Northern India have put a great strain on the working of your Company. However, I am happy to say that our staff at Lahore are safe and this is the only national Indian Company which was able to maintain its office in Lahore. Our staff has tried to assist their clients and the insurance minded public to the best of their ability by getting their interest covered against riot risk even in the face of danger. I offer them on your behalf our thanks and we are happy that they stuck to their guns.

## INDIAN TRADERS TO VISIT JAPAN

As part of the Allied scheme to open up private trade with Japan, the Government of India has invited each of 39 selected firms to send a representative to that country as soon as possible says a Press note. The total number of businessmen who will visit Japan in this connection is 500—drawn from upward of 10 countries. Four cities—Tokyo, Nagoya, Kyoto and Osaka—have been chosen as centres of accommodation.

The businessmen going from India, as also those from other countries, will not comprise a delegation. They will act as individual units and each will make his own travelling arrangements. On arrival in Japan, they will report to headquarters, of the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers and will be guided in making contact with Japanese businessmen and in the matter of negotiating contracts. They will stay in Japan for 21 days.

## FOOD IMPORTS FOR INDIA

The view that the food crisis in the country might be considerably mitigated if the Government of India, apart from making its own deals, actively encouraged others to import foodgrains into the country, was expressed by the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, in an interview to the United Press of India.

His Highness deplored the present state of affairs which restricted all initiative other than that of the Government of India in this matter. He expressed his own eagerness to help.

"There are", he said "considerable quantities of foodgrains in Portuguese East Africa which can easily be made available for import into this country. There are many merchants belonging to Nawanagar who are in business in East Africa and I am quite sure that they will give us their fullest co-operation in importing foodgrains into this country if only the Government of India give us the necessary import facilities."

## U. S. TRADE WITH INDIA

The American embassy reveals that cash purchase exports from the U. S. to India in 1946 amounted to \$170,729,000 and U. S. imports from India during the same period \$237,654,000. After deducting the worth of goods sent by relief agencies, there remains a surplus of \$70,260,000 to India's credit from merchandise trade.

Foodstuffs were the main exports to India in 1946; unmanufactured tobacco totaled \$9,674,000; Fountain and stylographic pens rose to \$3,719,000; Radio receiving sets, \$280,000; Electric appliances \$704,000, Electric refrigerators \$214,000; Non-mechanical pencils \$930,000; Combs and lamps, other than electric \$1,005,000; Toothbrushes and sewing machines \$263,000.

The leading imports of U. S. from India were jute and jute products—valued at \$91,608,000 or 38 per cent of the total U. S. imports from India; leather, furs, hides, and skins—\$32,413,000; lac, and shellac—\$19,153,000; Cashewnut imports rose to \$16,802,000; tea imports—\$16,499,000; raw cotton and cotton waste \$15,264,000. India's total imports from the U. S. in the first three months of the year 1947 have recorded the mark at \$395,773,000.

## INDIAN COTTON TRADE

There was a wide scope for Indian Cotton Trade with Britain and other foreign countries, declared Mr. T. B. Dalal, Secretary of the Karachi Cotton Association, on return from his four-month tour of foreign countries.

Mr. Dalal said the cotton trade with these countries could no longer be in the nature of a one-way traffic. It would have to fit itself in a wider commercial policy, which might be framed by the two Dominions in the light of the existing world conditions.

At least during the next three to five years, the commercial policy of the two Dominions should be mutually settled, and should be uniform with reference to dealings with foreign countries.



# Women's Page

## EQUAL STATUS FOR WOMAN WITH MAN?

Is equal treatment to man and woman desirable?

Well, according to Premier B. G. Kher of Bombay the idea of equal treatment is not sound and will lead society to very unhappy circumstances

Replying to a debate in the Bombay Assembly on this question the Premier read extracts from a book entitled *Our Freedom and its results* written by five English ladies. He quoted Mrs. Hamilton, a former member of Parliament, as saying "the object of the women's movement was to attain equal status with men in England and having attained it, it has led us to uncertainty, unemployment and great anxiety."

Mr. Kher proceeded: "I think every woman has a right to be treated with great respect which is due to her sex and not only as an equal with man, because as some philosophers have said, in many matters she is even on a higher level than man in the development of the human race. But to say what is good for boys is good for girls is unsound philosophy. It is absolutely necessary that man should be man and woman woman. It does not mean that she should be like a doll or that she should be like a butterfly or that she should go about with a tennis racket in hand or even that she should be made a servant or just an aid to the senses.

"The same intellectual and physical training and ambitions should not be given to any young girl as to boys. Educators should pay heed to the organic and mental peculiarities of male and female and to the differences between the two sexes."

## MRS NAIDU'S APPEAL FOR UNITY

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the U P Governor, addressing the Peace Conference which was held at the historic Baradari in Lucknow on October 18, said: "When the partition question was raised, people thought India would die. Thinking of the consequences people fought, men fought and women fought over the partition issue, but I said I will not fight. I will conserve my energy, my faith, my vision, my hope and feelings for re-uniting the people."

Mrs Naidu added, "My faith never wavers. How can I separate my blood? With this attitude of my mind, I beseech you to unite"

Recounting the past, she said she had an old association with Baradari where the Peace Conference was inaugurated. "It was," she declared, "on this very platform that a special session of the Muslim League was held and those were the days of Raja of Mahmoodabad, when Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah was a staunch member of the Congress and I came all the way from Bombay to express the immortal desire of my heart—that of Hindu-Muslim unity."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said: "I am concerned at the moment with this province which holds a peculiar position, as being the repository of two great cultures, a treasure house of civilisation."

## WOMAN'S CHALLENGE TO MAN

"With the consent and help of men if possible and without it if necessary, the Indian womanhood is definitely going to march forward in their emancipation, in its fight for equality with man in every sphere of life including the public life of the country," said Mrs. Anusuyabai Kale, President-elect of the All-India Women's Conference in her address before the Rotary Club, Aloda, on the "Aspirations of Indian Womanhood."

## NEWS OF COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES

The Standing Committee of the A.-I.N.E.C., met from October 8 to 11 in Bombay. After prolonged discussions over the codes and conventions governing publication of news and comments covering communal disturbances, the Committee adopted a fresh code to be uniformly observed in the present emergency by all newspapers throughout the Dominion of India.

The Committee also discussed the position of member-papers of the Conference published in Pakistan. It was agreed to await the opinion of these newspapers before any decision was taken on the question.

Complaints were made that Press messages to and from Lahore were subject to rigorous censorship at Lahore and that the bulk of these messages was not passed for publication.

## MR. J. N. SAHNI

Mr. J. N. Sahni has relinquished charge as Chief Editor of the *Indian News Chronicle* and the *National Call*. Mr. Sahni will be succeeded by Mr. G. V. Krupanihi. Mr. Sahni conducted the *National Call* for fifteen years and acted as Chief Editor of the *Indian News Chronicle* from its inception.

## THE "DAWN"

Pakistan's Ministry of Information stated on September 17 that the newspaper *Dawn* was not the mouthpiece of either the Governor-General or Government of Pakistan, as it is described in certain sections of the Press; nor was it the organ of the Muslim League. The Ministry hoped that the Press "would not give credence or currency to unwarranted assumptions".

## \* MADRAS INFORMATION \*

The Government of Madras have decided to discontinue the Hindi edition of *Madras Information*, as it has been found to have only a very limited circulating value.

## DR. BESANT'S WAY WITH BANK BALANCES

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, in a tribute to Dr. Besant, says that on December 31 of every year she divested herself of all her bank account and gave away the whole of her balance to public charitable purposes and on January 1 started life afresh. "What Harsha did every five years Dr. Besant did every year."

## SYED ALI ZAHEER

Syed Ali Zaheer, Shia leader of Lucknow and former Member for Communications in the first Interim Government of India, formed last year, has been appointed India's Ambassador to Iran.

An official announcement says: "H. M. the King has been pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. Ali Zaheer as His Majesty's Ambassador for India in Iran."

## DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of Benares Hindu University, has gone to England to resume his lectures at Oxford University, where he is the Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions.

## NEPAL'S AMBASSADOR TO INDIA

The Nepal Government have appointed Commanding General Shree Singh Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana as the Nepalese Ambassador in India. He is the fourth son of the late Maharaja Shree Chandra Shumsher Jung and was Nepalese Minister in London during 1939-47.

## TARIFF BOARD

It is understood that Mr. G. L. Mehta will be the Chairman of the reconstituted Tariff Board. The other two members will be Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu, a well-known economist of Madras, and Mr. H. L. Dey, the present member.

## FOOD DELEGATION TO AUSTRALIA

Mr. Neville Wadia, a prominent businessman of Bombay, and Mr. Vishnu Sahai, Director-General of Food, it is understood, will form the Indian Food Delegation to Australia. Mr. Wadia has already once visited Australia and has Australian contacts.

## PLASTICS FOR BROKEN LIMBS

Yet further uses have been found for plastics, which have been used experimentally for making broken limbs in Britain.

Research chemist Mr. H. Collinson, writing on the use of plastics in fractures in the *Nursing Mirror*, describes recent experiments in which bandage treated with plastic liquid urea-formaldehyde, a synthetic resin adhesive, was wound over a broken wrist and then baked. At the end of half an hour, Collinson writes, 'the outer layers had hardened and a certain amount of support and rigidity was obtained. The following morning the bandage was quite hard and rigid and, throughout only one-eighth of an inch thick, gave a support equal to much thicker and more cumbersome plaster of Paris bandage.'

'Later the bandages were easily cut off with scissors and there was no sign of skin irritation or dermatitis.' But, he points out, the technique which has been developed is by no means perfect and much remains to be done.

## RESEARCH IN RHEUMATIC DISEASE

Britain is making a close study of rheumatic fever and valvular heart disease of rheumatic origin. It is now announced that these diseases are to be made noticeable in children under 16 years of age in five test districts where there are already adequate arrangements for treatment. By this means it is hoped to obtain more information which may assist in the prevention, early diagnosis and treatment of rheumatic heart disease and other forms of acute rheumatism.

## DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI

The Government of Madras have sanctioned the continuance of the appointment of Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, retired Civil Surgeon, as Honorary Obstetrician and Gynaecologist in the Government Women and Children Hospital, Madras, for a further period of five years from August 19, 1947.

## NEUROSIS AMONG BRITONS

Increased governmental regulation and restrictions were blamed by the *British Medical Journal* for "unsatisfactory human relationships and their connection with the high incidence of neurosis" among factory workers.

In a leader, the publication commented on a recently-issued report on the growth of neurosis in British factories. "We ask", declared the leader, "whether human relationships can be other than troubled in a society that lives under a continuous sense of strain—as Britain has done since 1939. Renewed threats to the stability of the State are met by increasing legislation of a restrictive character. Hemmed in by statute, order, and regulation, the individual has little chance to order his own way of life, and often enough succumbs to the twin evils of apathy and frustration."

"Since the end of the war, politicians have shown a growing reluctance to trust the individual, 'who in the present vast and imposing machine of the State is made to feel little more than a cog. He becomes a 'calorie-consuming unit', a 'manhour producing mechanism.'"

## GIVE UP SMOKING

His Highness the Maharaja Shree Padma Shumsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister of Nepal, has issued an appeal to his people to give up the habit of smoking cigarettes. He has suggested that they should instead patronise the hookah if they cannot altogether give up the habit of smoking. Nepal has to pay more than Rs. 60 lakhs every year for imported cigarettes.

## PERPETUAL YOUTH

Lord Nuffield has given another £3,500 for continuation of experiments in Oxford where the Russian born naturalised British scientist Dr. Valdimir Korenchewsky is seeking secret perpetual youth. Korenchewsky believes that senility is no matter of course but a disease. He thinks most men could with proper treatment live to 100 and women to 112.

## Currency and Banking

### WORLD BANK

The Vice-President of the World Bank, Mr. Robert Garner, on Sept. 9 ruled out the World Bank as a source of "stop gap" financial assistance to Europe before the Marshall Plan goes into effect.

He told a Press Conference that the Bank's policy makes it impossible to grant loans for food and consumer goods—items most European countries need during the next few months.

### BANKS WITH ASSETS IN PAKISTAN

The Government of India have issued an Ordinance called the Banking Companies (East Punjab and Delhi) Ordinance, 1947, empowering the Central Government to make an order staying for a period of three months the commencement or continuance of all actions and proceedings against a banking company whose registered office is in East Punjab or Delhi.

The Ordinance is issued to prevent damage to the banking structure of the country and avoid unnecessary distress to depositors, many of whom may be refugees.

### ISSUE OF CURRENCY NOTES

Currency notes worth Rs. 11,82,58,28,000 are now in circulation in India and Pakistan, according to an account published by the Issue Department of the Reserve Bank of India, for the week ending September 12. Notes worth Rs. 88,01,81,000 were held in the Banking Department, bringing the total to Rs. 12,70,60,09,000.

The assets against which the notes have been issued include gold coins and bullion held in India worth Rs. 44,41,45,000; sterling securities worth Rs. 11,35,32,89,000; and either rupee coins or Government of India rupee securities worth Rs. 90,85,75,000.

### BANKERS' MEMORANDUM

Representatives of Scheduled Banks in Madras met Mr. B. Gopal Reddi, Finance Minister, and submitted a memorandum regarding certain provisions of the Madras General Sales Tax Amending Bill.

## Railways

### RAILWAY BOARD'S DECISION

The Railway Board have decided to abolish three Directorates—Traffic General, Projects and Stores, with a view to reducing expenditure, says a Press Note.

A number of other individual posts, which include one Joint Director, five Deputy Directors, and two Assistant Directors, have also been abolished.

In this manner, not only will a greater measure of decentralisation be achieved, but a number of senior experienced officers will be made available for duty on railways where they are most needed.

The abolition of these posts will result in a saving of about two lakhs of rupees in the annual budget of the Railway Board.

### CANCELLATION OF TRAINS ON E. & RAILWAY

A large number of passenger coaches belonging to the East Indian Railway and the Bengal Nagpur Railway have been requisitioned for the transport of refugees and evacuees in northern India and other similar purposes, such as the transport of those who have opted to serve the Pakistan Government, states the Public Relations Officer, Calcutta Railways. The result is that the running of a number of scheduled trains on both these Railways had to be temporarily cancelled.

### ADVANCE PAYMENTS TO RAILWAY STAFF

Pending the implementing of the Central Pay Commission's recommendations, the Railway Board have decided that an advance payment of Rs. 50 is to be given to certain categories of railway staff of Classes IV and III, who have been in continuous employment since January 1, 1947, says a Press Note.

The bulk of the lower paid employees, and a large number of Class III staff whose pay on the post-1931 scales does not exceed Rs. 250 will thus obtain immediate benefit. Detailed instructions have been issued to General Managers of the Indian Government Railways.

## C. R. ON VALUE OF MUSIC

Presiding over the Independence celebrations of the All-India Music Conference at Calcutta Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Governor of West Bengal, said that there was nothing more potent than music to raise man's character to a level nearer to God. If in every house, music was introduced much of the evil element in the country could be eliminated. This was because music was not merely an instrument of pleasure, but also a divine medicine to get rid of the poison in men. Music had a great part to play in propagating peace among the people. He appealed to the audience to help in setting up more and more music schools in the country in the interests of human happiness.

The Conference held a musical soiree in honour of the attainment of independence by the country, in which a number of well known savants participated.

## NOTATION FOR "BANDE MATARAM"

In response to Mahatma Gandhi's instructions enjoining on the Santiniketan authorities to "produce an acceptable notation" of "Bande Mataram" and other national songs, so that these might be "sung by millions in one tune and one mode," the Visvabharati has arranged to to publish in the newspapers the notation of "Bande Mataram" as set to tune by Poet Rabindranath and sung in many sessions of the Indian National Congress by the poet himself and others.

The notation will be first published in Bengali and then in all the major languages of India, states Mr. Rathindranath Tagore, General Secretary of the Visvabharati.

## PORTRAIT OF TILAK

The Maharashtrians, it is understood, have planned to present a life-size portrait of the late Lokamanya Bala Gangadhar Tilak, to the Constituent Assembly probably sometime during the next session of the Assembly.

## C. R.'S. ADVICE TO TOURING CRICKETERS

"I should tell cricketers that they should not think of the country's politics and should not try to explain what has been happening in the country. It is not their business, nor their responsibility. I advise them neither to refer to the present situation in India, nor to refer even to a Free India. It is not a strange thing that we have got freedom which everybody must have", observed H. E. C. Rajagopalachari, in his speech at the official banquet given by the Cricket Association of Bengal, on the eve of their departure at the Calcutta Club.

His Excellency advised cricketers not to be nervous and to have confidence throughout. He was glad that Lala Amarnath was chosen the skipper of the team. He felt that the Indian Cricket Team in their sphere, would render great national service during their tour in Australia and he thought that if the Indian cricketers could get rid of the complex that Australia was the best cricketing country, they would do very well. After all if the Indian team lost there was no disgrace, as they would lose to the best cricketing country to-day, but if they won that would be a great thing. Humourously, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, "Heads you win and tails you win, so win both ways." As Amarnath very rightly said that cricket was a game of chance, His Excellency said that the Indian team might get all the chances in their favour. In conclusion, he wished the Indian team all luck in their mission to Australia.

## ENDURANCE FEAT

The unique honour of being the first man to swim the North Channel, the 25 miles stretch between the Northern Ireland and the Scottish coast goes to Tom Blower, a 33 year Nottingham swimmer. Experts predicted the attempt will fail because it was thought that raging tides off both coasts would beat human endurance.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF ATOM ENERGY

Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, Director of Scientific and Industrial Research, stated in an interview at Madras on September 10 that an Atomic Energy Bill would shortly be introduced in the Indian Dominion Legislature in order to make it possible for India to collaborate with other countries of the world in the development of atomic power.

An atomic board, with the Indian Minister for Works, Mines and Power, Shri C. H. Bhabha as Chairman, was recently set up to give a fillip to research work in nuclear physics and to utilise atomic energy for purposes that were not of a destructive character. The Board had already drafted the Atomic Energy Bill and it would be placed for approval before the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

He stated that the resources available in India for developing atomic energy could compare favourably with those of any other country.

#### SPLITTING NUCLEAR ATOM BY COSMIC RAYS

Experiments in the splitting of the nuclear atom by means of cosmic rays are being carried out at Mont Aux Sources, on 11,150 foot high peak of the Drakensberg at the junction of the frontiers of the Orange Free State, Natal and Basutoland.

The experiments were begun in July when a party of mountaineers climbed 18 miles to Mont Aux Sources to place a number of photographic plates in a position where they would be subjected to the penetration of cosmic rays.

Mr. M. E. Huntley, of the Department of Physics of the University of the Witwatersrand, who is awaiting the results of the experiments, explained that photographic plates were impregnated with three different elements—Thorium, Beryllium and Boron.

The experiments at Mont Aux sources are the first of their kind to be carried out in the Southern Hemisphere.

#### EFFECT OF BRITISH TAX ON HOLLYWOOD

The British tax on American films has resulted in a "depression" hitting Hollywood and thousands losing their jobs.

The depression however, is a typical Hollywood affair. The workless drive up to unemployment relief offices in chauffeur-driven luxury cars to draw the £ 6 weekly "dole".

It is estimated that almost 10,000 are jobless. The film city has been urging that the State Department should protest to the British Government over the tax, but Government officials say there is no infringement of the British Credit agreement.

#### STUDIO TO PRODUCE RELIGIOUS FILMS

Mr. Arthur Rank, film chief and Sunday school teacher is setting aside a £ 70,000 studio at Elstree to put religion on the screen. "I am offering the studio with all the latest equipment to any religious body which cares to use it," he told the World Conference of Sunday School Teachers. "Any dominion can come along with the script of a religious film when the equipment is installed. It will be a completely non-profit-making concern."

#### GEMINI'S MALINI

Gemini's *Miss Malini* featuring Pushpavalli, Sundaribai, Kothamangalam Subbu, and Natarajana Rao released last month, is a picture that provides first-class entertainment. *Miss Malini* is an attempt at a new kind of film making with new technique. Eschewing cheap love-scenes and low expressions and gestures, the film yet keeps our interest intact. Vulgar comic there is none but the picture is laugh-laden to the last.

#### FILM OF GANDHI'S LIFE

A full-length documentary film on the life of Gandhiji, covering the period 1912-41 was exhibited to the members of the Constituent Assembly, the diplomatic corps and the Press on August 14, in New Delhi.

## AWARD IN BUS DISPUTE

Mr. P. Markandeyulp, who had been appointed to adjudicate in the dispute between the workers and the management of the Presidency Transport Limited, Madras, has submitted his report. The recommendation made by him include provision of one day's leave with pay every week to all conductors and drivers, regulation of the hours of work of drivers and conductors by the clauses of the Motor Vehicles Act of 1939, and the rules framed under the Act.

The Adjudicator has also recommended that the Company should run 18 buses in Route No. 1 (Triplicane to Parry's Corner and back) from morning till night and two sets of drivers and conductors should be employed in each bus, one set in the morning and the other in the evening, and that no extra or special buses should be run in this route except with the specific permission in writing of either the police or the Road Traffic Board or some other Department of the Government having jurisdiction over this matter. It has also been recommended that no conductor of a bus should be asked to work for more than 10 hours a day against his will.

## PRICES OF CARS

The Government have specified the maximum prices of the controlled motor cars of the following makes and types: Fiat 500 C. C. Convertible Saloon with cloth upholstery, Rs. 5,008, Fiat 500 C. C. Convertible Saloon with imitation leather upholstery, Rs. 5,584, Fiat 1,100 C. C. Sedan equipped with cloth upholstery, Rs. 8,752; Fiat 1100 C. C. Sedan equipped with imitation leather upholstery, Rs. 11,864 and Frazer car, 1947 model, F 47, Rs. 16,500.

## PLASTIC PACKAGING FOR CARS

An entirely new method of plastic spray packaging for cars is being brought to the notice of British manufacturers. Known as "Cocoon pack." It is a development of the plastic spray packaging used in the shipping of fighter aircraft during the war.

## CIVIL AVIATION IN INDIA

A Forty-two per cent increase in route mileage is reported in the report on the progress, of civil aviation during the half-year ending 30th June, 1947.

On 30th June, 1947, 22 air services (including one external service from Calcutta to Rangoon) were operating over 21 air routes totalling 15,020 miles, as against 15 air services operating over 14 routes totalling 10,517 miles on 1st January, 1947. For operating these services, there were nine air transport undertakings employing 161 aircraft, 190 pilots and 111 other air crew personnel.

The total number of aircraft registered and delivered in India at the end of June, 1947, was 482 as compared with 403 at the end of December, 1946. They include 165 aircraft with more than one engine as compared with 109 at the end of December, 1946. One hundred and twenty-four held current certificates of air-worthiness.

The passenger traffic showed considerable increase from 67,554 passengers carried in the second half of 1946 to 121,060 in the first half of 1947.

## PAKISTAN AIR SERVICES

Pakistan is negotiating with India and Britain for starting a network of air services, it is reliably understood.

A British aviation corporation is likely to be permitted to run air services in Western Pakistan, linking Karachi with Delhi, Lahore, Quetta and Peshawar, while the Oriental Airways will be licensed to operate a service from Karachi to Dacca, apart from its feeder services in Eastern Pakistan.

## RIAF: STATION AT TAMBARAM

Group Captain S.N. Goyal, who has been Group Captain-in-charge of Plans at Air Headquarters (India), has taken over command of the Royal Indian Air Force station at Tambaram.

The promotion of four Squadron Leaders to the rank of Wing Commander has been announced by Air Headquarters (India).

## CALCUTTA ELECTRIC SUPPLY CORPN.

The United Press of India learns that the West Bengal Government have finally decided to exercise the option of purchasing the entire undertaking of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation with effect from January 1, 1948.

In this connection, they have approached the Government of India to accommodate them with a loan amounting to Rs. 30 crores. This loan proposal is understood to be under the examination of the Finance Department of the Government of India. The Finance Minister of the West Bengal Government, who was recently in Delhi, has been assured of necessary financial help in this connection. The final decision of the India Government about this loan proposal is likely to be communicated by Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mines and power, who will visit Calcutta on October 31.

## DR. ALAGAPPA ON CONTROLS

Conflicting views regarding controls were expressed at the annual meeting of the Yarn Merchants' Association at Madras last month by the out-going President and the newly elected President.

Dr. R. M. Alagappa Chettiar, out-going President stressed the need to continue controls, while Mr. T. N. K. Govindarajulu Chetty made a strong plea for the abolition of controls, and allowing of free trade.

After the General Secretary, Mr. S. N. Kasiyappah, had presented the ninth annual report, Dr. R. M. Alagappa Chettiar said the production of yarn had, instead of making an upward trend after the termination of the war, shown a tendency to decrease.

He was also of the view that once control was removed, human nature in many cases would assume its worst manifestations, and potentialities. Further, once decontrol was set in, prices would shoot up, and there would be chaos and confusion in the country, and it would be impossible to restore sanity, order and decent behaviour to society.

## FRUIT PRODUCTION IN INDIA

It is authoritatively stated that a 100 per cent. increase in fruit production in India is essential to meet the minimum requirements of the country. This can be secured by increasing cultural practices in existing orchards, for increasing the yields per acre.

Some of the steps taken by the Government of India, to develop the fruit industry both from the production point of view, and for making increased production available for consumption in larger quantities, include financial assistance to Provincial Governments and States, the establishment of nurseries and the training of personnel.

The growing of short-term fruit like bananas and pine-apple has been encouraged, and in Bihar alone the acreage under fruits has been increased by 7,543 acres, which will yield an additional 23,000 tons of fruits from next year.

## DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Interesting figures of the financial assistance given to Madras Presidency during the last two years by the Central Government were given on September 25 by a spokesman of the Agriculture Ministry in Delhi. As against a loan of Rs. 45,62,500 given to Madras in 1945-46, Rs. 85,00,000 have been given in the current year. The figures of grants during the two years are Rs. 17,53,000 and Rs. 242,95,700 respectively. The increased assistance in 1946-47 covers schemes of irrigation, manure distribution, seed multiplication, and distribution and livestock development.

## CANE CULTIVATION

It is understood that the Government of Madras have under consideration a scheme to intensify sugarcane cultivation around sugar factories in the province. The scheme would appear to visualise a two-fold drive—developmental and research.

For purposes of conducting researches in sugarcane cultivation, the authorities are in search of a suitable plot, with an area of not less than 200 acres.



#### REVISION OF FACTORIES ACT

The Government of India have under consideration the revision of the Factories Act with a view to securing the safety and health of the workers.

One of the changes suggested will be that all plans for the establishment of new factories and new plants or for an extension of existing plants and premises, including plans, designs and specifications of the new buildings proposed to be erected should be submitted to the Chief Inspector of Factories so that he may satisfy himself that the design and lay-out and construction of the factories will be such as to secure the safety and health of the workers.

Another provision is that satisfactory arrangements should be made for the disposal of industrial and trade wastes resulting from the manufacturing process to be carried on in the factory.

#### REVISION OF WAGES IN TEXTILE MILLS

In order to determine the strength of labour necessary in each textile mill in the Province and to revise wages in the light of the award of the Industrial Tribunal, Government have appointed a Wages Board and Standardisation Committee with Mr. A. Uthandaraman, Assistant Textile Commissioner of Labour as the sole member, it is learnt. He will be assisted by certain technical experts as well as four assessors, two representing the mill-owners and two the labourers.

#### EMPLOYER—LABOUR RELATIONS

The Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has decided to request the Government of India to call a tripartite Conference of Government, employers and labour as soon as possible to establish a better understanding between Capital and Labour. Mr. M. A. Master, President of the Federation, announced this at a party given in his honour by Mr. Premal Devkaran Nanjee, President of the Bombay Bankers' Association, last month.

#### DIAMOND JUBILEE OF ADYAR LIBRARY

The Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the Adyar Library, took place along with the Besant Centenary celebrations, at the headquarters hall of the Theosophical Society, Adyar, on October 2 when tributes were paid to the function of the Library in the cause of learning, research, and cultural development, not only in India but throughout the world. Dr. C. R. Reddy presided.

Dr G. Srinivasamurthi, Director of the Library, traced the growth of the Library, founded by the late Col. Olcott, and the high ideals with which it was started.

Col. Olcott had wished to make the Adyar Library the temple of all religions and all philosophies in the world. They had in the library, nearly 100,000 books, ancient and modern, in all the leading languages of the world, covering world thought in all aspects. The library was a temple dedicated to the Goddess of Learning.

#### SIDNEY WEBB

Mr. Sidney Webb (Lord Passfield), leading British Socialist and at the age of 70 Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Dominions in Britain's second Labour Government, died Oct. 13 at his home at Liphook in Hampshire, at the age of 88.

Mr. Webb, who devoted the whole of his life to the study and promotion of the principles of State Socialism, was a founder of the Fabian Society in 1894. A noted economist, educated in London, Switzerland, and Germany, he also held office as President of the Board of Trade in the first Labour Government in 1924. After the end of the second Labour Government in 1931, he never held office again.

With his wife, who died in 1943, he set up a partnership, which turned out to be one of the most fruitful and famous in the world. Together, they wrote some of the world's outstanding works on Socialism, including the monumental works, "History of Trade Unionism". "English Local Government", etc.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

Edited By Mr. G. A. NATESAN

Vol. 48.]

DECEMBER 1947

[No. 12.]

## DREAMS

By SIR HUBERT SAMS

WE old Koi-hais, who long ago watched regretfully for the last time Apollo Bunder growing ever fainter astern, have our dreams of the India we knew and loved, dreams often evoked by something quite trivial, a sight, a smell, a sound. The dreams are seldom of the more colourful episodes of our former spacious lives in India, not always of a Royal Visit, a glittering Parade; a brilliant Durbar, the splendid hospitality of a Prince, a memorable shoot, an age-old building. More often than not they are of simple things, of simple folk. An orange, when we can get one, or a banana, when one happens to be allotted to a grandchild, brings back chota hazri in the early morning of a cold weather day, the swiftly rising sun calling forth all the familiar sounds, the servants moving about the bungalow, the maid watering the thirsty flowers, the groans and squeaks of the Persian wheel, the bugle-calls of the near-by Cantonment. Toast and marmelade will recall chota hazra on a hot weather morning after a restless night on the verandah or chabutra, the all too fleeting cool whiff in the air, the coil beginning his infernal, maniacal laughter, driving one maddened into the stifling bungalow, which must soon be darkened to ward off the blast of the furnace outside.

The smoke rising from an English hamlet reminds us after a long day out in the open of the return to camp, when

*The swift and welcome gloaming  
Shrouds the pain 'tween and the burs  
And the cattle slowly homing  
Loam like ghosts across the run.*

We smell the smoke of the fires of cow-dung and the appetising fragrance of the chapatties being turned and baked by slender hands. And so to our tent, where Abdul Latif is patiently awaiting us with a hot bath and a welcome change of clothes.

Or, as we fare to the hills of Scotland or Wales, the pleasurable anticipation reminds us of the excitement of our journeys to the Hills, the early morning toilet in the train before we get to Kalka, the first sight of the lower slope of the mighty Himalayas looming dark and immense in the early morning twilight, the bustling platform, the ascent by the toy train or rail motor, the halt at Barogh for a good square breakfast, which we were able to eat with an appetite sharpened by the already cooling air, and at last the alighting at Simla for a well earned ten days' breather.

The fragrance arising from a dry flower-bed watered by an English gardener—one is not always available—brings back vividly the approach of the Monsoon Rains, as they begin to cross the white-hot plains of the Punjab, while we sit gasping on the verandah, wondering whether it is a false hope or the real thing, that will bring joy to the heart of the long-suffering husbandman and rupees into his (or the shukar's) pocket, that will close down the Text Works, on which hundreds of sweating men, women and children have been toiling like ants for hot weary weeks, and that will turn the scorched earth into smiling acres.

When our sons, next in a long line of those who have tried to serve India

come home on leave, we think of our own home leaves. We have made over charge with condescending pity to the poor fellow, who will for a time have to shoulder our burdens, we have been seen off at the station by our British and Indian friends, a pleasing custom, and we sit back in the railway carriage with the comfortable feeling that we have no more cares in the world. No more files, no more cases to hear, no more 'mauqas' to inspect for another six months!

Most of all we remember the humble folk, who ministered so deftly to our creature comforts, the turbaned bearer, who

seemed to know our needs before we knew them ourselves, the clever bawachi, who was able miraculously to turn out as excellent a meal in the 'blue' as in his kitchen; the silent almost invisible mehtar, whom we seldom actually saw scuttling away with his basket, the grave mali with his leather apron and goat-skin full of water, the syce patiently walking our pony up and down, till we were ready to mount. We can even now easily conjure them up, silent, efficient, reliable, loyal, waiting for the smile of thanks or word of praise.

All dreams, of which not even the fateful Ides of August can rob us!

## INDIA REBORN

BY PROF. D. P. MUKERJI

INDIA has a spirit, as has any other country, whose people have lived together for centuries on the same soil and under the same climate, who have built up traditions and standards to guide their conduct, laboured under the necessity of individual and collective primal impulses and for the satisfaction of needs, material, intellectual and moral.

India has a spirit that is active as other large groups of human beings who have faced problems and attempted to solve them, possess an active spirit. Therefore to isolate the spirit of India as something apart from the rest of mankind is unhistorical, unreal and untrue; it is an exercise of national arrogance. And yet, there are features special to Indian culture which only the blind, absolutist believer in the unity of history will fail to observe. Human spirit has its generic and its particular features, and it is their combination which gives the form and content to culture. If the general features dominate, the specificity is lost in amorphous humanity, if, on the other hand, the individualities alone are stressed, then culture is atomized into the egoistic behaviour of microcosmic groups. The speciality of any culture-type is, therefore,

a matter of wise emphasis between the universal and the particular.

But this emphasis in its turn is governed by the time-factor. Civilizations are born; they grow, sometimes fast at other times slow, sometimes under the whip of external events, at other times impelled by inner necessity; they lose the vitality and powers of vigilance often by a failure of the will to live, at other times under the overwhelming pressure of circumstances. Some civilizations die and are remembered only by the academic historian or the keeper of museums, while others just exist waiting for the response to come. It is reserved for a few, a very few civilizations to create opportunities for revival and renaissance, to accept the challenge of world-forces and reorientate their traditions in such a manner as to enable them to make up for the time lost, to keep abreast and forge ahead. They are the dynamic ones. Not merely have they lived but they have lived worthily. The culture of such civilizations is a triumphant assertion of the human spirit. I claim that Indian Culture is one such example. I say this not in a spirit of chauvinism but in due humility, which is nothing but scientific objectivity and a regard for facts and nothing but facts.

I also claim that now is the most opportune moment to make this assertion. The spirit of India has never died; it has reeled under various shocks; it has lain low under storms and stresses, but it has never succumbed. And now it has proved beyond any cavil that it can rally to enjoy a fresh lease. I do not exactly know the secret of India's strength. Wiser men than myself have told us that the secret (of India's strength to survive and live anew) consists in the persistence of certain spiritual values, and the Indian's ability to cling fast to them. Others think that it is all due to the happy emergence of *avatars* and the rise of men of destiny at each critical hour. Probably a third opinion may exist, but I do not dogmatize. All that I know is that the spirit of India is reborn.

Today Indian history closes a particular chapter and opens a new one. None can read that chapter at this moment, but if past events be any guide, if the manner in which our national movement has been conducted be of any value, the spirit of India need not blink or quail.

The cardinal fact, therefore, about the spirit of India is not so much its ancientness as its supreme capacity for rejuvenation. Many people, Europeans and Indians, have told us that for the first time India was awakened from its slumber by the impact of the West. It is not my intention to appraise the influence of the West on the Indian Spirit; nor can a man with my training and equipment ever minimize India's gratitude to Europe, to Western Science, England's representative government and rule of law, France's revolutionary ardour, Germany's music and philosophy, Italian art, Roman Law and Greek culture, and, may I add, to Europe's Christianity. At the same time the assertion I have quoted, namely, that India came to life only when the West impinged on her, and the impression that India was a benighted continent struggling for unity and order against the forces of disruption and decay, is far not true.

The impact of the West, be it remembered, was only the last of a series of impacts. Islam had come before; many barbarian hordes had not only invaded India but stayed here and been assimilated in due course; earlier still the Aryans, further back that unknown civilisation whose remains are still the wonder of Indian archaeologists—the Austri, Monkhuts and many more—each had left its indelible impress on this palimpsest of Indian history. What is more important than the fact that the Western influence is only the last of a series of influences is that its period has been the shortest on record. Islam has been with us for more than a thousand years, while the West has sought to pervade our life in the last hundred and fifty years only. True, that the very basis of our life has been affected by the West, for example, our countryside. In the Muslim period it retained intact its self-sufficiency, its corporate modes of living, and its democratic habits. Today all that is gone. Take our economy; it is no longer based upon the social exchange of goods in accordance with the collective needs and principles of distributing justice as against the urgencies of competitive markets.

The West has deeply influenced our economic life in a manner which Islam never intended or achieved. All this is admitted. At the same time, I am not sure if the West has not destroyed some of the ancient values which Islam did not either touch or which Islam assimilated in the long course of its constant familiarity with India. I for one cannot get over the fact that while the architecture of New Delhi is an abortion, that of the Purana Quila at the other end of the Queensway and facing the Governor-General's house is a thing of majestic grandeur and unsurpassable beauty. Similarly how can I forget that wonderful delicacy of Mughal miniature, a creation of the adaptable genius of the Hindu artist under the impulse of the Islamic peoples of Iran? And to give the supreme illustration from

music—what about the classical dignity of *Darbari Kankara* and *Mian Ki Mallar*, the dramatic quality of *Arana* and the marvellous poise of *Yaman Kalyan*? Is it not a fact that each of these ragas has a Hindu base and a Muslim structure?

I state with some confidence that the influence of the West upon India has produced nothing comparable to the portrait of a Mughal nobleman, to Sher Shah's tomb, the Taj, the Jaunpur Atala, to the Jamma of Ahmedabad, to the Moti Masjid of Agra and Fatehpur, to *Darbari Kankara* (numerous melodies) or *Mian Ki Mallar*. After all, painting, architecture, music, and I should add, language, namely, such as I refer to, Urdu, are better tokens of the spirit than the chimneys of factories, the busy dockyards, nay, better tokens than the soulless, mechanical, partial and propagandist lessons on English poetry and constitution, the history of the French Revolution and the romantic story of Garibaldi and Mazzini. In short, the spirit of India has assimilated more culture traits from Islamic civilization than from the West. I merely suggest that this has been due to the longer period of the contact of Indian spirit with Islam. To complete the picture add a subsidiary fact that while the Westerner never chose to stay in India the Muslim rulers made India their home and spent India's wealth in India in whichever manner that wealth might have been extracted.

On the other side, too, India's influence on Islam has been greater than what it has been on the West. To put it in a nutshell, the West remained as it was in the Muslim period of India's history. The conclusion is simple. If the material base of India's spirit is sound, that is, if India produces wealth and distributes it according to social justice this interlude of hundred and fifty years will be remembered with gratitude as a necessary phase in the evolution of Indian Culture. Otherwise it will haunt us like an ugly nightmare.

Which takes us right to the nature of Indian spirit. In so far as it has grown

and matured through various contacts over at least three thousand years, its history determines its nature. And really, it is difficult to distinguish nature from nurture. Being from Becoming, substance from process. Still, over a 'given period' a corpus of customs and traditions hardens into a type and makes up the base. The base is not always tangible; it is a pattern of the tangible and the imponderable. Indian spirit is characterised by the preponderance of the imponderable over the tangible. I use the word preponderance advisedly, because it is unhistorical to say that the material base of living was completely neglected in India. No people could have lived and lived fairly prosperously as Indians did by indifference to the facts and joys of living. Materialism, in the common meaning of the term, was very much there; and each system of philosophy had to counter it. Indian literature secretes the ardour of opulence.

At the top were spiritual values in the hands of a special group of elite who also discharged intellectual functions; below the spiritual values came the vital ones kept safe in the hands of the Kshatriyas; and lower down rested the material values to be exercised by the Vaisyas and others. It was an excellent arrangement so long as material existence was simple. It enabled the society to absorb shocks from outside and inside. It kept the structure elastic, flexible and resilient because the lower limit, that of physical existence, was fixed, and the upper one was the Absolute, which is the unlimited. Within that ambit, closed on one side and open on the other, *Dharma* and *Karma* gave stability to the life of the individual. But this stability, just because it extended over a long period, was ultimately reduced to formal conformity to rules and rituals. Some protested, disented, rebelled—and they were great revolutionaries in their own manner—but eventually they yielded under the pressure of the gravitation of tradition. In other words, these Sultans, Fakirs, and Saints, these God-intoxicated masters of time,

these social dissidents and protestants were so many bubbles which the light of Illumination and Love played on and made incandescent but whose flow and disappearance in the stream of disappearance could not be prevented. And the reason was that no basic change had been effected in the meantime to be reflected in the structure of India's spirit. That structure looked integral from outside and for all practical purposes; but deep down a fissure had taken place between the form of the spirit and its content, the letter and the meaning. The inner tension between matter and spirit had sundered the integrity of Indian culture. That it lay deep down and was not divulged to the common eye did not stand in good stead for the common man. The spirit of India had become lopsided before the West came.

To-day's task, therefore, is clear. We have to correct the unbalance, resolve the tension between form and content; square up with the needs of material existence, build up a new organised social solidarity that will be adequate for the new situation. There is a danger that in this attempt we will lose sight of the character of the Indian spirit as it has developed so far. I am not pleading for the restoration of ancient values. Nor do I commit myself to a faith in the eternal ones. I only urge the necessity of the economy of energy in the construction of new India on known foundations. At the same time, economy also posits realism. And the needs of living are real. If we do not recognise them now, matter will be revengeful to spirit and destroy it, much in the way it has been doing it elsewhere.

I am sure that we will do it; because India may have lost everything, India may lack many things, but India has never desisted from making moral, intellectual and spiritual experiments, she has never been intolerant to deviations, no, not even to atheism; she has never feared freedom.

Freedom has come to-day; but it is partial. It only gives us the conditions of securing the contents of freedom. One type of content is native to India, I mean the spiritual. The other type, viz., the material, is still to be brought within the form. The spirit of India has been an adventurous one. It has dared to do many things in its day. To-day its task is not to fear the material content of Freedom. Poverty has to be abolished, equality has to be established; social justice must be installed. Then and then alone will the spirit of India regain its balance and contribute to the enrichment of the spirit of Man. India has become free in the time of great trouble for the world. She has become free when the worst passions of hatred and envy rule the land. These are real difficulties. But these difficulties are the true challenge to the Spirit of India. So some intelligent faith is necessary at this hour.

Let us believe in India, understand the spirit of India and go ahead with confidence. To amend the spirit of India is not a mean effort. It is certainly not you and I who alone can make it. A noble effort is always a collective endeavour. We have solved the problem of the origins of a new spirit; we now face the problems of its growth, function and development.—Broadcast from Lucknow.

# At the Root of the Muslim Question in India

By "DEENABANDHU DAS"

WHAT was yesterday a simple Muslim question in Indian politics has to-day assumed the magnitude of a problem of Civil War between Hindus and Muslims. What is to-day a Civil War may well assume to-morrow the size and magnitude of an interstatal or international warfare between a Hindu, and a Muslim, state or confederation. It is pertinent, at this stage, to ask and find the answer to the question, 'What is at the root of the Muslim problem in India?'

A popular notion among nationalists is that the Hindu-Muslim problem is a creation of the British. There is another view, popular among the Muslim League and British circles, which says that the Hindu-Muslim question is an eternal one and a legacy of India's past. The fact is that while the British could not have created something out of nothing, the Hindu-Muslim question was hardly ever such a predominant question in Indian politics as it is to-day; and, what is more important, Hindu-Muslim divergence, in so far as it was a reality in, and is a legacy of, the past history of India, was destined, in the conditions of the new industrial civilisation, to die a natural death like the religious rivalries in most other advanced countries of the world, but that the British reawakened the dying thing and gave it a new lease of life.

How has Britain been able to revive and strengthen Hindu-Muslim rivalry in India? When Britain had noticed the germs of sedition in the activities of the pioneers of our nationalist movement, she at once began seriously to search for an ally to counteract it. The Muslim gentry who had earlier fallen victim to the wrath of Britannia and had been repressed long enough to be, in general, humbled down, appeared to her to be a fine material for the purpose. What was the modus operandi by which Britain brought the Muslim community into the loyalist camp? The method was simple. Britain, as the ruling power in India, and as the master

of India's exchequer,\* offered to the Muslim community a 'liberal grant from state funds for its "upliftment"'. She held before it the prospects of a differential treatment, as a community, from the ruling power and invited it to strike a path different from that of the rising nationalist movement. While the purpose of the latter was to wrest from Britain ever-increasing quantum of power, the interest of the former would be to wrest as much as possible of differential advantages at the expense of the latter. And in order to gain these advantages it would have to count upon the help and condescension of the ruling power against whom, therefore, it could not go. The result would be that in every contest with Britain nationalism would be rendered weaker and the power of resistance of Britain would proportionately increase.

Once this fundamental line of development was envisaged by Britain, it was necessary for her to lay stress on the difference between Hindus and Muhammadans and to create the psychological background of a separatist Muslim movement. It was not an easy task. The ethnologically, linguistically and religiously different foreign ruling race from beyond the seas holding the reins of government of the whole of India had already created a common hatred of the foreigner in the minds of Indians of all religions. The tenets of nationalism and political democracy had begun to be familiar among educated Indians, whether Hindus or Muslims. It was not easy for Britain to foster a communal separatist ideology in such conditions. But even this was achieved, and by 1909, with although a sprinkling of Muslim opinion in its favour, Britain was able to introduce communal separation in the form of separate electorates and weightage for the Muslims in India's constitution. The material foundation of a separatist Muslim movement thus firmly laid, it was only a matter of time when it grew into a powerful and influential movement.



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ment. By 1940 it was possible to have the demand for a separate Muslim State explicitly propounded for the platform of a political party in the thick of the battle. By 1946 the separatist movement was found actively initiating what was to all intents and purposes a Civil War for the attainment of its ends. By 1947 a full-fledged separate Muslim dominion came into being in India, to which nationalism had to meekly submit.

The crux of the Muslim question, however, is the Muslim desire to receive, and the British readiness to concede to him, specially privileged position as a *community* in India's constitution. The Briton, when the necessity for him arose as it did towards the close of the last century, was only too eager to receive the Muslim in India as his "favourite wife" and the Muslim lent himself to this favouritism. The firm foundation of fact behind the Muslim separatist movement is the 40-year-old privileged position granted to the 'Muslim' and the Muslim desire to continue and carry forward this position of privilege at the expense of the other communities. I often have occasion to laugh in my sleeve when I find the most eminent leaders of Indian "democracy", Gandhi and Nehru not excepted, trying to patch up peace and make friends with the Muslim separatists. Indian nationalism, since its very inception, has taken a fundamentally wrong track. It is a common sight to see a nationalist trying to convince the Muslim about the desirability of communal peace, of national unity, of united action, but I have hardly ever known a Nationalist frankly telling him that the policy of favouring the Muslim, even though in the slightest degree, is thoroughly undemocratic and that democratic nationalism does not know of religious differentiation or distinction. When you concede, under whatever pretext (for example, "upliftment of a backward and minority community"), the patenable theory of treating the Muslim separately and giving him weightage, you thereby strengthen the moral plank of the Muslim separatist movement and open the prospects

for nationalism and democracy. And after doing this as regards the most vital and fundamental point, you cannot legitimately expect the Muslim to behave in the way you like him to. You cannot sow the seeds of disaster and expect anything out of it. Rather, by conceding the theory of differential treatment and weightage to a particular community, you forfeit your claim to "democracy" in its true sense. If you allow that a Muslim should count as different, and as more than, a Hindu in constitutional arrangements, you cannot afterwards disallow his claim to a separate state, for all that it means and incorporating as much territory as he possibly can grab, wherein he might enjoy the full fruits of his privileged position unhindered by anybody or anything. You cannot have democracy at the same time that you have theocracy.

If one would like to understand the true nature of the Muslim Problem in India, one has to start from the *root question*, "Should, or should not, Mussalmans as such have a separate, and specially privileged, position in India's constitution?" If you are a follower of modern democracy as most of us pretend to be, you shall have to categorically say "No" to this question. If you admit that the Muslim should be treated as separate and have privileges (of whatever kind, for example, special grants for education from state funds, preferential claim to jobs and trade facilities and reserved seats and weightage in legislative or executive bodies, things that give one control of the nation's resources), you open the door for the Separatist Muslim Movement which can never stop, unless compelled by superior force, short of a cent-per-cent monopoly of the national resources and enslavement of the members of the other religious communities. If you will strike at communalism, better strike it at its roots. In any case, by allowing the Muslim to have a separate and preferential treatment in the constitution, you do not solve the Muslim question but open it.



# Stabilization of Agricultural Prices

BY PROF. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M.A.

**A**GRICULTURE is the most important industry of our country, and yet India is a deficit country in respect of the production of food commodities. No attention was paid to this problem till the last War. The Crop Planning Conference of 1934 suggested a restriction of production to secure adequate prices from the producers' point of view. The rise in prices during the early years of the last War was a welcome feature, but in and after 1942 the gravity of the situation was realised. Acute scarcity of food supplies was experienced with the result that the Bengal Famine took a heavy toll of life. The Foodgrains Policy Committee suggested the creation of a central reserve of food stuffs and recommended measures to increase food production. "Grow More Food" campaign and other devices were adopted. All this indicates the seriousness of the food situation of India from a long period point of view also.

In the pre-war period also there was scarcity of food supplies in India. The fact of the matter was that the cultivator, for a large part of the year, was unable to consume wheat. He used to consume coarse grains. During the War period it became possible for him to consume wheat. Hence adequate wheat could not become available to the population in industrial towns. The situation was, therefore, acute even in the pre-war period, but it came to the notice of the wider public during the War and post-war periods. After the War prices have gone still higher. The monthly average index of all agricultural commodities in June 1945 was 256. It went up to 303 in June 1946, while the corresponding figure for June 1947 was 358. The table giving index numbers of wholesale prices of agricultural commodities during June 1947\* indicates a rising tendency of agricultural prices. This acute rise in the price level is disadvantageous from the point of view of

all classes of people and it is no indication of rising standard of living. It indicates scarcity of food stuffs. All steps should, therefore, be taken to increase food production in the country and a long term plan has to be formulated for this purpose.

A factor of the most fundamental importance in this connection is the maintenance of agricultural prices at a reasonable level. As observed by the Famine Enquiry Commission of 1945, "The development of agriculture, which is so essential, cannot take place unless, first, the cultivation of land remains a more paying business than it was in the decade before the War, and secondly, all engaged in the business feel assured that it will remain so. Neither of these two conditions is likely to be satisfied unless the stabilization of agricultural prices is accepted as an essential part of Government policy and there is confidence in the ability of Government to ensure it." Thus it is clear that stabilization of agricultural prices is indispensable to an improvement in agriculture. The cultivator must be assured fair profit and a reasonable price level for his produce from a long period point of view.

In this connection various questions arise. It has to be considered as to what will be a fair price consistent with the interests of the producer and the consumer alike. There is then the question of the creation of the necessary machinery to ensure the fair price level. It is also necessary to see the degree of importance that should be attached to the prices of different agricultural commodities.

A few principles can be laid down concerning these matters. Firstly, importance must be given to the prices of food crops as compared with other agricultural prices in the economy of the country. Secondly, in respect of food crops greater emphasis must be given to the prices of wheat and rice as compared with the prices of other cereal and non-cereal food crops. The Bengal Famine Commission in this connection

\* Vide page 507, Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, August 1947

recommended "That a policy of stabilization of prices of wheat and rice should be adopted irrespective of any action in respect of other commodities." Thirdly, maximum and minimum prices have to be fixed. Fourthly, adequate and well-equipped machinery must be created to keep prices within those limits. In this connection the essential requisites for price control, viz., the control of imports, the existence of buffer stocks and an organization for making purchases and sales in the market, will have to be brought into existence. Fifthly, the determination of a fixed price itself is one of the most significant questions. It is clear that existing price level can, by no means, be called a fair price level. Efforts should, therefore, be made to achieve a fair price level. It may be pointed out that a 100 per cent. rise in the price level over that prevailing in the immediate post-war period may be sought to be achieved. Sixthly, there should be correlation between costs of production and prices of agricultural produce as also between agricultural prices and the general price level. Finally, it may be pointed out that action in this connection is necessary on an international plane. There is acute shortage of foodgrains in most of the countries of the world today. In fact, the world today is moving towards a stage where some sort of international cooperation in economic sphere is necessary. The United Nations Conference of Food and Agriculture (1943) accepted this principle and made a recommendation on the action required, on an international plan, for giving effect to it. This Conference recommended, *inter alia*, (1) international commodity arrangements to promote the expansion of an orderly world economy; (2) the formulation of broad principles through international discussion regarding the formulation and administration of such arrangements; (3) effective representation of consumers and producers in such arrangements; (4) securing opportunities for supplying consumption needs from the most efficient sources of production at fair prices to consumers and producers; (5) the

maintenance of adequate reserves to meet all consumption needs; and (6) provision for orderly disposal of surpluses.

The above principles can be said to be general with reference to which a policy of stabilization of agricultural prices should be formulated. The Government of India recognised the importance of the problem of stabilizing agricultural prices. Hence it appointed a Sub-Committee of the Policy Committee of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, called the Krishnamachari Sub-Committee, in December, 1944 to go into questions of agricultural prices and to make its recommendations. The Committee was to consider the basis on which the prices should be fixed and to recommend measures by which such prices could be made effective. It recommended that the State should guarantee minimum remunerative prices for selected agricultural commodities. It was also to see that the benefit of such prices reached the small cultivators and agricultural labourers. It was also to undertake other measures of agricultural and general economic development of the country. It also recommended that these prices should be fixed on the basis of parity prevailing between the agricultural prices and the agricultural costs during the period 1924-29. The State was to enforce the minimum and maximum prices by a guarantee to purchase and sell at minimum and maximum prices by building reserve stocks. The creation of three institutions was recommended, namely an All India Agricultural Prices Council, a Prices Determination Commission and a Commodity Corporation. The object of the former two bodies was to fix prices with the help of a bureau of Economics and Statistics. The Commodity Corporation was to take the necessary measures to implement its responsibility by regular imports and exports, by maintaining reserve stocks, by purchasing supplies at the minimum price and by selling stocks at the maximum price. The Sub-Committee also recommended the construction of godown accommodation at a cost of Rupees forty crores to provide

storage 'accommodation for reserve stock of one and half million tons.

The above recommendations were considered at the Price Conference held in January, 1947. The Government of India have already set up a Commodity Prices Board to make recommendations regarding the appropriate level of prices for different commodities. This Board, however, differs from the recommendations of the Krishna-machari Sub-Committee in that the former was to deal with prices of agricultural produce only, while the latter will deal with all prices—agricultural and industrial. Thus, it is necessary that effect must be given to the recommendations of the Committee. The Government should announce a support schedule of prices for each commodity and the prices fixed may vary from time to time in accordance with general economic trends. Let to begin with a parity price level may be selected. The cultivator

must be assured a fair price in order to induce him to maintain production over a long period of time, and, side by side, the interest of the consumers should also be safeguarded while entering into international commodity agreements. The objective should be to expand international trade, and marketing arrangements must be devised for improving the efficiency of distribution.

Although the Indian Government is preoccupied with the more urgent and immediate problems of the maintenance of law and order and of dealing with the refugee problem whose dimensions are unparalleled in world history, yet the gravity of the food situation in the country demands that equal priority has to be given to problems of agricultural industry. The Government is fully alive to the situation and adequate steps, it is hoped, are being taken and will be taken in this direction.

## WHITHER INDIAN ECONOMY?

NEED FOR A REALISTIC OUTLOOK

BY PROF R. V. RAO, M.A., B.T.

THE complete transfer of power, which had taken place on August 15th, has placed heavy responsibilities upon those in authority. It is rightly said that, the freedom movement has now passed from the political to the economic plane, and the time has come when we should set ourselves urgently to the task of economic stabilisation. The formulation of an appropriate economic policy should be based upon the realities of the existing economic situation and the possibilities of our future advance. After all, our administrative capacity is judged not by statements of policy but results. In other words, we should not lose the peace on the economic front after the achievement of freedom on the political front.

Till recently, whenever we considered what is wrong with our economic life, we were always saying that political bondage was at the root of all the evils and only a national Government could solve our problems. That is why, the late Ranade and others had to say that India had its own Economics and that an economic theory good enough for the West need not necessarily be good enough for India. We will be able to appreciate the situation better, when we remember that just at this time, the policy of free trade was forced upon India even though such a policy was not good for India. Indeed, the nationalist point of view was diametrically opposed to the Government point of view and it is no

wonder that economic environment and thinking was coloured by the political background.

The time has come when we should enter on a sober mood. Since October 1946, India had the substance of freedom and "August 15 represents only the inevitable finale in a drama whose last act had already been written up, and only awaited enactment". The shocks of division and partition have been too severe to be cured within a short time. On account of shortage of commodities, the common man has begun to feel that freedom does not necessarily mean plenty. Indian economy is on the brink of disaster and the common man feels that the difficulties of obtaining essentials of life are on the increase. Things instead of improving are fast deteriorating. Not only have rations been reduced but corruption, black-markets and unsocial activities have been allowed to have a long lease of life.

Many economists have been talking of post-war depression but the common man finds that the prices of commodities are soaring up. The cost of living is going up, making the life of the common man miserable. The fixed income groups are finding it simply impossible to live. There is a demand for high-wages which only means a further rise in prices because those who get more money want more goods which are now in short supply. Thus, we are in a vicious circle. It appears as if unless there is more production, we will not be able to solve the problem. The masses of the population are passing through one of the worst periods in human history.

The common man is unable to appreciate the difficulties of the Government because nothing has been done to ameliorate his condition. A free India is a challenge to the country. We can no longer throw the blame on foreign government. It has to justify the significance of the change, satisfy the expectations of the people, and raise the standard of living of the teeming millions of India. We have, of course, to remember that the new Government has inherited an

unenviable legacy and the parting kick of the British was the political dismemberment of India. As Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel rightly observed "our first task is to stabilise, consolidate and strengthen ourselves and the rest can have only a temporary priority". But we have to remember that, the ideal of welfare of the masses should be near the heart of our leaders.

#### FUTURE OF ECONOMIC POLICIES

Now that freedom has been won, it is better to take a realistic picture and follow definite and realistic economic policy. We cannot follow an economic policy which will run the risk of India being over-powered and outrun by foreign nations. Here again, we should remember the role of cottage industries in our national economy from the point of providing occupations, subsidiary to agriculture, and also from the point of distributive justice. While every one regards that in industrialization alone lies the salvation of India, it is better for us to see how far we can work up Gandhian economic ideals.

It is a good sign of the times we have realized the dangers of an economically unequal society in which wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of a few individuals. We cannot tolerate any kind of exploitation, foreign or Indian. Dr. John Matthai did well emphasising recently the need for loosening the grip of vested interests. In no country in the world, there is perhaps a greater amount of inequality, injustice and denial of privilege than in our own. To quote Dr. Matthai "you will find that a national movement, while it is in progress, is almost, in spite of itself, made to depend on the influence, support and resources which it gets from the vested interests of the country. When you come to the end of struggle, you find you are more than ever before in the grip of these vested interests on whom you had depended during the period of your struggle. I think that the main part of the task that remains before us today, if freedom is to find full expression, is so to carry our fight forward, that the grip that vested interests have been

able to establish over the people is lessened, if not eliminated. But unless we are prepared to tackle it courageously, the independence that is coming to us will have been in vain." The fortunate few that happen to hold the Government of India should loosen the grip; otherwise there is bound to be a disaster for the country. This does not however mean that private enterprise should not have any scope. The range under which it works should be limited. The state as the organisation of the community should utilise the "surplus" wealth of the rich for the benefit of the poor.

Very recently The Hon'ble Mr. Bhabha did well in emphasising the need for a realistic outlook. It is better for us to consider the economic issues in a practical manner. Further, the Government should tolerate criticism. Any attempt towards totalitarianism should be resisted. As Lord Action says "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely". After all the most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities.

Independence means little to the masses unless it brings about the economic organisation of India. While the new Government should consider the problem of law and order first, still the Government should consider problems like full employment, increase of production, nationalisation of key industries, agrarian reform, social security, labour problems etc. People are fed up with declarations. The Government should show its *bonafides* by starting the battle against shortages. Bread, cloth and a roof over the head constitute the supreme test by which the common man judges the Government.

Let us take the food problem. We are passing through a food crisis and going with a begging bowl to foreign countries. We are paying higher prices to the food grains of foreign countries and refusing to give the same to our own cultivator even though he badly requires help. Indeed, the policy of subsidising domestic producers should be liberalised. "The grow more

food campaign" has not achieved spectacular results. The same is the case with the rest. Unless we solve the problem of shortage, the very future of our social life will disintegrate. The need for stepping up production need not, therefore, be over-emphasised. Even so far as cloth is concerned, we have to see that there is a common policy of more production. The problem of housing affects the middle and lower classes whose standard of living has already gone low.

For all these things increased production should be the *raison de etre* of our economic policy. This raises the problem of imports and exports. The problem of controls also requires a closer examination. We have got to see that they operate in the best interests of the community. A realistic approach to the country's economic problems is the greatest need.

#### DO NOT WASTE TIME OVER "ISMS"

We should not waste our time over "isms" and ideological differences. We must have a new pattern of society based upon social order. It will be fatal if we allow dogma to shape the main currents of our policy, regardless of their applicability. We must remember that the importance of free India depends upon her ability to give international policies consistent with her national ideals. Without this she can neither survive as a nation nor can she discharge her obligations to the world. A word may be said about the problem of high prices. The volume of currency is much larger than the needs of the people and there can be a suitable adjustment between production and currency. It is better for us to have a desirable price level before depression sets in.

Indian economic situation is no doubt grave. In the face of a grave economic crisis, the British were able to set their house in order. We have to guard ourselves against economic misery and chaos. Nothing need frustrate our efforts. There should indeed be a stock taking of the present economic position consequent on partition.

Further, we should arrest the downward tendency in the production of essential goods. We should keep the price at reasonable level. There should also be a long term programme of development based upon a correct estimate of our resources and men. There should also be a permanent planning commission to tackle the problem of the economic reconstruction of India.

The time has come when we have to draw a distinction between technological possibilities and economic propositions. These are some of the problems on the economic part. Only a process of education can lead to the formation of enlightened public opinion. After all, "a country is rich in which people are dear and material things cheap". To-day corruption is all pervasive. The common man is likely to judge the administration in the light of how the economic problems are solved.

In the realm of international economic co-operation, India can play a leading part. Vast areas in the world are at present exploited for the benefit of a few industrial nations but such a situation cannot continue for long. The replacement of

colonial economy by economic organisations devoted to the well-being of the area concerned, reduce to a large extent the sources of international economic conflicts. India here again can play an useful part in the realm of international economic co-operation.

At a time when strikes have become the order of the day, we are often liable to neglect the needs of the rural masses. At the present time we are paying such attention to urban areas and this lop sided development has got to be guarded against. Let me conclude this article by repeating that only by higher output can we stabilise wages and prices at a reasonable level. A sense of responsibility among trade union leaders, and a determination on the part of the Government to deal with the situation firmly, will no doubt help us much.

Thus the A 1 problems of the country are food, clothing and shelter. Our problems of industrial and agrarian economy have got to be solved. Prices have to be stabilised. It is hoped that some thing will be done before the situation deteriorates still further.

## OUR NEW TASKS

By MR. SARAT KUMAR

**B**ERNARD SHAW has often been quoted as having said, "A conquered nation is like a man with cancer: he can think of nothing else.....will listen to no reformer, to no philosopher, to no preacher, until the demand of the Nationalist is granted. It will attend to no business, however vital except the business of liberation and unification." The course of Indian politics, ever since the establishment of British power in India, has demonstrated the truth of Shaw's statement. British rule was sterile: it could not evoke and utilise the creative impulses of the people. The people, on the other hand, were preoccupied with the political problem the solution of which thus

became the precondition of any sustained economic advance. So long as British rule continued to exist, such an attitude of mind was perhaps inevitable, but now that the political problem has been solved and power transferred to Indian hands, there can be no justification for any indifference to the economic problems that face us. The purpose of this article is to suggest certain long-term policies to tackle these problems.

The basic fact of Indian economic life to-day is the sub-human standard of living of the vast masses, nearly a fifth of humanity. "Poverty dominates the lives of India's voiceless millions". Politics means little or nothing to them. Many of them, perhaps, care not whether white or brown

Brahmins are their rulers. But in their myriad mud villages and in the dark hovels and alleys of their towns poverty is a basic reality."

Broadly speaking, the cause of this poverty is that India's productivity is low. Nearly 75 per cent. of India's vast population are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. Europe with a somewhat less dense population has less than 50 per cent. dependent on agriculture, while in Western Europe, those dependent on agriculture form less than 40 per cent. of the population. With such a large proportion of the population crowding on the land, the productivity of the Indian peasant is necessarily low.

This being so, the main problem that faces India is twofold (1) to obtain more produce from the land and (2) to draw off into other productive occupations the surplus agricultural population. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru emphasised this in his sketch of economic policy in 1936.

Fundamentally, we have to face the land problem. . . . and the problem of unemployment which is connected with it. I think nothing short of a large scale collectivist or co-operative farming will deal effectively with the land question. These wretched small holdings will then disappear. Production will greatly increase and many other benefits will follow, but unemployment would not be affected thereby. In fact, by scientific farming, . . . unemployment might even increase a little, as far as direct employment on the land is concerned, though indirectly other avenues of employment would be opened up. In order to provide employment, we must absorb people in industrial development, in cottage industries, in big machine industries, and in the economic development of social services, such as education, hygiene and sanitation. . . . If all these things are taken together, I imagine we might go a little way towards the solution of the various problems that confront us.

The first priority in any plan for economic development must necessarily be to increase agricultural production. Foremost among the ways of increasing production in agriculture is to extend irrigation. As the most profitable schemes of irrigation have already been completed and the best sites for dams and reservoirs already utilised, there is no longer any prospect of bringing into use large areas of virgin land.

According to Government Statistics, about 90 million acres still remain, but a great deal of this is very inferior land, which could not be made to yield crops except at a high and often prohibitive cost. Further extensions of irrigation will mean the supply of water to cultivated land dependent at present on rainfall, rather than to virgin soil. They are however worth undertaking, for irrigated land will yield four times as much as unirrigated land. Between 1890 and 1930, irrigated area was about doubled. Our aim should be to double it again in half the time.

Improvement of communications must find a prominent place in any scheme of economic development. Lack of adequate roads is a serious handicap of Indian Agriculture. "Thousands of Indians are many miles from any metalled road and a considerable distance from any sort of road maintained by public authority." The ordinary dirt roads are impassable in wet weather and a series of deep ruts in dry weather. Perishable products cannot, as a rule, be got to the market in good condition and this acts as a deterrent to the incentive to produce milk, fruits and vegetables, though the farmer gets a higher return from them.

The improvement and collectivization of agriculture will go a long way to increase agricultural production. Better varieties of seed, better rotation of crops, improved types of implements, and measures to prevent soil erosion must be rapidly popularised. The co-operation of the former is required for all this, especially if collective farming is to be introduced. Collective farming is the solution of many economic problems. In many parts of India, it holds out the best hope of permanently widening the peasants' whole life as well as helping to raise his material standards of living. It will mean the end of fragmented holdings and the creation of sizable units, where capital can be profitably invested, modern implements and methods of cultivation introduced on a large scale, and the use of land planned in a scientific manner. All this requires careful planning, technical knowledge and



administrative skill. The peasant must be persuaded to shed his jealousy and suspicion of his neighbours and give up his independence and his little fields and old ways. Moreover, there is at present, a lack of men of sufficient character, education and influence to manage the affairs of a collective farm. There is also the lack of trained officials.

These measures will go a long way to increase agricultural production. But they will not solve the problem of unemployment. In fact, the creation of economic holdings, and the introduction of modern machinery, might even increase unemployment by depriving a large number of farmers of their land. This surplus population should be absorbed by the development of big machine industries and small cottage industries.

So far, lack of cheap motive power has been the main reason why industrial progress has been slow. Though coal is available in fairly large quantities, it is concentrated within a small area in Bengal and Bihar. Transporting it to Madras, Bombay and N. W. India is very expensive. But this difficulty can be overcome by the generation of hydro electric power as pointed out by the Industrial Commission in 1918, for which there are great possibilities in the Western Ghats.

It has been calculated that to double in ten years India's pre-war Industrial production would absorb less than two percent of the agricultural population. The correct conclusion from this is not that industrialisation will bring negligible gains but that present industrial production is very small in relation to the population. We should aim not merely at doubling production but at multiplying it three or four times.

Co-ordinated planning is necessary if inter-related and inter-dependent industries are to be started simultaneously. In the initial stages, certain basic industries must get priority over the others, namely, (1) mining and metallurgy (2) Engineering (3) Transport (4) Chemicals and (5) Cement.

Consumption goods industries must be developed simultaneously, so as to meet at least our essential requirements. Textile industry, paper industry, tobacco industry, oil-crushing industry, glass industry are some of these which should be developed to meet existing domestic demand.

The realisation of these schemes in practice demands a large outlay of capital and plentiful supply of technical skill. As far as technical skill is concerned the second world war has proved to be a blessing in disguise to Indian Industry. Though still far short of India's needs, the increase since 1939 has been far larger than could be expected during peace time.

As regards accumulation of capital, since the war India has repaid all sterling debt (amounting to £360,000,000) and has run up sterling balances amounting to more than 1000 crores of rupees. Though this large sum may not be available in full at present at once due to the present dollar famine, that portion of it at which available, together with the wealth hoarded in the form of precious metals, should be utilized for the purchase of industrial plant and equipment and hiring technical and managerial skill.

These measures are absolutely necessary if the economic problem is to be solved and poverty and unemployment banished from the land.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest, and in particular on subjects bearing on the political, commercial, industrial and economic condition of India. Short articles on topical subjects are preferred. Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for.

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 700 words.

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to Mr. G. A. Natesan, Editor, *The Indian Review*, G. T., Madras.



# PEOPLE'S EDUCATION: OUR POLICY

BY LAKSHMI N. MENON

RECENT happenings in our country have put out of focus many urgent problems of national reconstruction. Today, the problem of problems is the rehabilitation of millions of displaced persons, the uprooted humanity of the Punjab. And one of the important aspects of this problem also will be education. Hence the problem of education should necessarily have priority. And in this, the most urgent thing will be the determination of our objective in mass education and the fulfilment of that purpose by means of our educational institutions.

The Centre, and thereafter the provinces, have had many schemes of popular education which have been ultimately bogged in the proverbial apathy of the people. These plans used to be expounded and elaborated from time to time, and, then, forgotten. Thus enthusiasm even in the matter of education is not a persistent factor; and it has never roused that amount of genuine support which is necessary to push forward any scheme of nation-wide application. Let us recall for a moment the enthusiasm and comments that the Sargeant Plan provoked in our country. It seemed as if the educational millenium was round the corner. Some of us were genuinely impatient at the length of the period,—forty years,—required for the fulfilment of the Plan. And that was about five years ago. Since then, what has happened? We waited for the war to end to usher in the Post-war Plan. And now, we are waiting to get the peace which does not exist. Whatever the reasons, there is now general preoccupation with other things,—yet, are they so urgent or important as education, I wonder. For, every item of national regeneration, whether social, economic, industrial or administrative, demands a high level of general education. Unless an attempt is made to guarantee this, within the shortest possible time, all talks of progress and building a new social order, seem utterly meaningless, and as futile as the get-rich-quick dreams

of the lazy man. So education must receive priority not only because it is helpful for stabilising other social activities but because a high level of popular education alone can make society civilised in the real sense of the term.

Before we go into the question of the principle that should guide us in this matter, let us pause a while and look at the prevailing system. The first thing, that strikes our attention, is the general chaos in organisation, management and curriculum. Our educational system is a conglomeration of fortuitous institutions. Education since the days of the Montford reforms has been a provincial responsibility, the Central government not having much to do either with management or direction. Within each province chaos prevails; the chaos thickens as we move from rural areas to urban areas where institutions have sprung up thick and fast to propagate new ideologies, to provide employment for the economic misfits, to earn individual merit in the eyes of the administration, to increase the number of schools, so as to brighten the pages of our annual government and local board reports, to perpetuate communal differences, but never to provide the right system of instruction for the young citizens of a democratic state. Hard as this statement may seem, the details are even more terrible.

The responsibility of popular education is divided between the provincial and local self-governing institutions. The inefficiency, ignorance and corruption that characterise the latter in all matters, and especially in the matter of primary education, have persuaded even the Central Advisory Board to recommend that primary education should be transferred from the local authorities to the care of the province. The local bodies themselves have no plan for any thing, much less for educational expansion. Their general planless and persistent inefficiency is adequately supported by their constant complaint that no funds are available; and considering the way

they squander the little they have, it is not at all surprising that nobody pays any sympathetic attention to their misfortunes. In fact, whenever a municipal board is superseded for inefficiency there is widespread enthusiasm, and hardly any protest from the freedom-loving people of the area.

More often than not, educational institutions are run like business ventures on a profit and loss basis. The promoter is usually a man who is an economic misfit, generally a briefless lawyer, often an officer who has lost his job for some reason or other, and then tries to make amends for his past by doing some useful social work which also brings him a regular income. This income could be had only by running the school on unapproved methods of recruiting teachers without adequate qualification and, of course, without any training and on disgracefully low wages. In the rural areas semi-literate widows have contributed their share to the general level of inefficiency.

Because of the lack of an adequate number of schools for the growing population of the countryside and also because of the growing faith in education, there is always a demand for schools and more schools. And since the anxious parent is more anxious for a school to send his children, than for a good school, he readily puts up with the inefficiency and lack of real education. I have come across many parents who would complain with unimaginable passion, about the state of inefficiency prevailing in the schools and would rather spend exorbitant amounts to engage private tutors than join with other parents and make an all-out effort to improve the school. This kind of utterly unhelpful individualism is one of the major reasons for the general mismanagement of our educational institutions, be they small or big. To this we must also add the latter-day tendency to multiply schools on communal lines. The foreign missionary societies carefully made use of educational institutions to further their evangelical work.

They received support from all sides and even though they run schools on efficient lines with foreign staff and foreign financial aid the whole system is wrong viewed from a national angle. Their example is followed by other sects and communities, each institution forming itself into a centre of harmful sectarianism. The governments meekly allow them to flourish only because these schools are doing the job of the government. I will not hesitate to attribute much of the happenings in this country to-day as much to the intolerance nurtured in these sectarian institutions as to the widespread illiteracy among the masses of people who succumb to panic and fail to listen to reason.

The new state of India will be a secular state. Notwithstanding the partition of India, the both dominions will have to deal with the education of minorities comprising all the different religions of the world. Hence a secular state is indicated and it will be necessary also. In such a state the process of welding the different groups into one homogenous social organisation could be achieved only by getting rid of the private and state-aided schools. Even the present distinctive types of schools like, European, Indian, Missionary will have to be taken over by the state. I wonder why those who are in charge of our education do not feel the utter humiliation of the education of our children being in the hands of foreign organisations. It was tolerated because we were under foreign domination and it should cease now, that we are free. Governments buy industrial concerns owned by foreign capitalists; they change the names of towns and rivers used in the time of the domination; but they let our instruction, the most important of our nation-building activity, to be handled by anybody, even by foreign organisations without any compunction.

Every organised society and political group, whether it is fascist or democratic must lay special emphasis not only on the education of its young citizens, but also on the kind of education the child should

get. This education should indeed conform to the culture pattern of his society and embody the ideals for which his government stands. The new Indian Union certainly stands for something quite different from the one represented by the state before the 15th of August 1947. From the speeches of our leaders, from the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, it is clear that the India of the future will be built on tolerance; it will work for social equality, for equality of opportunity for all its citizens and for an economic order which will do away with the unforgivable inequalities existing today one envisages a social order in which the accidents of birth, wealth or position will not count at all and equitable distribution of our national wealth will free our people from hunger and want. Hence the foundations of our system of popular education must rest on these and must be well and truly laid. Social disabilities, such as those that exist today, based on caste, and sex will also go. A good beginning in this direction can be made (1) by providing free compulsory education for all children of school-going age in state schools (2) by the abolition of any other kind of schools for primary education. The first will give a fair start for all children and the second will ensure equal chance for all. At present, the vast difference between private schools and board schools give the richer children who can pick and choose their schools a better start than the poor children who are forced to mark time in a bad school run by the district board authorities.

There is another very important thing to remember. The years between 5 and 11, the period of compulsion, is also the most impressionable period in the life of the child. Those who ever sought to achieve anything by means of education have always insisted that they should have their pupils young. The Jesuit fathers, whose system of education left nothing to be desired in the matter of instruction or

discipline, wanted their pupils very young. In Japan while private organisations and enterprise are allowed to run institutions for secondary education, primary education is the special preserve of the state and jealously guarded from external interference. If our ideal is a collectivist society the emphasis of our education will be on group welfare, whereas in a society based on *laissez faire* the emphasis will naturally be on the development of the individual, obviously to the detriment of the group.

Besides caste and other distinctions, we have also the unique problem of the scheduled castes. They have been the victims of a special kind of social tyranny which has no parallel in human history. And the only way to bring them to the level of other progressive groups is to grant them educational facilities, the same as those that are available to the well-to-do middle classes at present. That great changes can be effected in social outlook by means of education in the span of one generation, is proved by Soviet Russia in her experiments in the backward Asiatic republics. The human mind, under proper direction, responds to progressive ideas more than the human body does to the latest medicines. The government that does not take into account this fact is really frittering away the nation's wealth.

In India today it is necessary to plan for quick achievement yet we should not hurry through the process in an irresponsible manner, without a plan, without trained personnel, without proper building and equipment. A progressive educational policy involves "a plan, a task and freedom." The beginning must be made here and now. The plans that are already before the country, should be modified to suit our national ideals. The task of primary education should be the absolute monopoly of the state, instituted, owned and controlled by the state, for all its children of school-going age irrespective of caste, creed or sex.

# MUSLIMS IN CONFERENCE

## The Delhi Convention

**T**WO hundred Muslim leaders from all the nine provinces of the Indian Union attended the Delhi Conference convened by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister. The purpose of the conference was to draw up the future plan of action for the Muslims of India. There were no "ifs" or "buts" in the Maulana's declaration. The Muslim League in India should be wound up, he declared straightway, and all the Muslims in the Indian Union should join the Congress. On one point, the Maulana said,

there was not the slightest doubt in his mind. Muslims in India should give up communal politics, and work for the benefit of the people of India as a whole.

The Congress was such a non-sectarian party, he added, and appealed to Muslims in India to join the Congress forthwith.

He added that political alliances on communal lines was a mistake, and to-day it was not only a mistake but a disaster.

Maulana Azad disclosed that, after the acceptance of the June plan, League leaders in India approached him to take up the leadership of the League in India, but he rejected the offer as he was of the view that communal political parties were wrong in principle.

The Muslim League, therefore, should be wound up, and care taken that no new communal party grows up in its place.

In the new free India, Muslims should approach all political problems from a non-sectarian socio-economic angle. The Congress was such a non-sectarian party, he added, and appealed to Muslims in India to join the Congress forthwith.

After a general discussion lasting for four hours the conference elected a committee of 15 members to draw up resolutions to be adopted by the Session.

When the Convention met again the next day Maulana Azad called on Indian Muslims to put an end to communal politics and join "the Indian National Congress which stands for unity, democracy and progress."

For the past ten years, Maulana Azad added,

The Muslim League had been spreading poison among the Muslims and leading them on a wrong and dangerous path. The tremendous task before those who had come to attend the Convention was to remove the evil effects of the propaganda of the Muslim League. That poison had affected certain non-Muslim sections of the country, too, and the Convention must endeavour to change the entire mental outlook of the people and create a new and healthy atmosphere in the country.

After the Convention had accepted the basic principles it would be for the larger gathering of Muslims, to be held in December, to formulate a programme of action embodying those principles.

Maulana Azad said that he did not favour the idea of forming a new Muslim organisation to lead the Indian Muslims towards nationalism.

It would not be proper to form such a party after accepting that communal political parties were wrong in principle. They had agreed that the Muslims of India should join the Indian National Congress and that left no room for any new communal political party.

The real work of the Convention was to begin now when a serious attempt should be made to wear the Muslims away from communalism.

Referring to the larger gathering of the Indian Muslims to be held next month at Lucknow, Maulana Azad emphasised the need for inviting Muslims of all shades of thought to attend that conference and take part in its deliberations.

The Muslim Leaguers must not be kept out of it because of their past actions. They are welcome if they are willing to co-operate with us and follow the decision taken at the conference by the majority.

The Convention elected a Committee of twenty three to function as an executive till the conference was held at Lucknow and to make preparations for its meeting. Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Mr. A. Q. Ansari, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, Maulana Hafizur Rehman, Prof. Humayun Kabir and Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kichlew are some of the members of the Committee.

### Resolutions

The following is the full text of the resolutions moved by Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, seconded by Mr. S. A. Brelvi and accepted unanimously by the convention:

This Convention of Muslims from the nine Indian Provinces records its profound sense of grief at the tragic happenings that have taken place since August 1946 and convey to all victims of the outrages its deep and heartfelt sympathy. The loss of life, property and security are terrible beyond words, but of even greater danger to our future is the threat to the freedom, peace and progress of the land.

The upheaval has taken a communal turn but in reality it is a fresh attempt to undermine and weaken our democratic leadership, by the reactionary anti-democratic and fascist forces of the country which in the past have always opposed our freedom movements. Such reactionary, anti-democratic and fascist forces thrive under the guise of communalism and it is, therefore, the duty of all Indian communities to adjure communalism from politics and approach political problems from a non-sectarian socio-economic angle. This Convention, therefore, advises Indian Muslims, to wind up the Muslim League and all other communal political organisations and join the Indian National Congress which stands for unity, democracy and progress. In order to take a decision in the spirit of that counsel and frame the future lines of policy, this Convention hereby invites a representative conference of Indian Muslims of all shades of political opinion in Lucknow not later than the end of December 1947.

This Convention hereby converts itself into the 'Foundation Committee' of the proposed conference and authorises the President of this Convention (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad) to nominate a small executive to take such action as necessary for purposes of the Conference.

### The Calcutta Conference

Though it was known that Maulana Azad had arranged for a Conference of All-India Muslim leaders to meet at Delhi in the second week of November Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Ex-Premier of Bengal, persisted in his attempt to call a separate conference at Calcutta about the same time. The Calcutta Conference came off on November 7. Mr. Suhrawardy, addressing the Muslim leaders of the Indian Union said, "This shall be main-spring of our policy, we shall serve our country." He added:

Clearly, unequivocally and without fear, with our hand on our hearts, we can declare that we are loyal citizens of the State and shall remain so expecting that the State will guarantee us our

rights and will not take advantage of our loyalty to destroy our culture, and will not consider that any attempt that we make to look after our interests is an act of disloyalty. We, therefore, will never be anti-national and whatever we be, whatever organisation we may join, we shall serve our country.

Mr. Suhrawardy also said:

We pledge our support to the Government of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, not merely lip support, but true and loyal support, not merely because he is the head of the State, but because in him we have found a true man of outstanding and mighty stature, whose great moral qualities compel admiration and loyalty.

To Mahatma Gandhi we offer our homage and our tribute. He has proved himself to be one shining light in a darkening world, and may his efforts in the cause of peace and unity pierce the gloom of our hearts and establish the glorious reign of mutual friendship, goodwill, toleration and co-operation.

Mr. Suhrawardy declared that their salvation lay in the Indian Union whose citizens they are, but as being party to the division he claimed the right to demand of the people of Pakistan,

that they should urge upon their Government that it should co-operate with the Indian Union in the interests of both the Dominions and in the interests of all the communities within both the Dominions

## THE VIGIL

BY MR. V. DEURANDHAR

The silent Night  
Beneath the sweet enchantment of the Moon,  
Kissed by her streams  
Of fairy light,  
Heaves blissful sighs enraptured by the boon  
Of glorious dreams.

The weary world  
Beneath the burden of the day's travail,  
By sweat, and tears  
Wilted, and cold,  
Lies stretched unconscious of the charms that  
[hall  
From magic spheres.

While I in wond'ring mute vigil surmise  
The mystic Being in sublime disguise!

# ORIGIN OF NEWSPAPER TRUSTS

The announcement of the creation of a Press Trust of India lends special interest to this article which deals with newspaper trusts which operate in Britain to-day. The evidence tendered by the National Union of Journalists before the Royal Commission on the British Press throws much light on this system which aims to protect the independence of newspapers.

THE object of press trusts established in Britain has been to protect the independence of the newspapers. It is significant that the trust system has been adopted by newspapers of such international repute as *The Times*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *News Chronicle* and by periodicals whose standing in their own field is no less than that of the newspapers mentioned in theirs. They include, for example, the *Economist* and the *Spectator*.

Probably the first newspaper trust to be established was that which now controls the paper known as the *News Chronicle*. In 1911, an indenture was made between members of the famous Cadbury family and the Manager of the Daily News Ltd. which later amalgamated with the *Daily Chronicle*. Two trustees were appointed and shares transferred to them. The spirit behind the trust is best shown in the words of the memorandum which George Cadbury wrote.

He said: "I desire in forming the Daily News Trust that it may be of service in bringing the ethical teaching of Jesus Christ to bear upon National Questions and in promoting National Righteousness; for example, that Arbitration should take the place of War, and that the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, especially of the Beatitudes, should take the place of Imperialism and of the military spirit, which is contrary to Christ's teaching that love is the badge by which the Christian should be known. The parable of the Good Samaritan teaches human brotherhood and that God has made of one blood all nations of men. Disobedience to this teaching has brought condign punishment on nations; and though wars of aggression have brought honour and wealth to a few, they have in the long run brought suffering upon the great majority of conquerors and conquered alike.

## SAFEGUARDING FUTURE TRANSFERS

In the case of *The Times* a Committee has been established for the special purpose of safeguarding future transfers of the controlling shares in *The Times*. These shares are those of the Times Holding Company Ltd., and are all held by Major

the Honourable John Astor, M.P., and Mr. John Walter, who together constitute the Chief Proprietors of *The Times*. The Committee is not identified either with the management or with the editorial policy. "The sole object underlying its appointment" it was stated in *The Times* of August 7, 1924,

is to ensure, so far as is humanly possible that the ownership of *The Times* shall never be regarded as a mere matter of commerce to be transferred without regard to any other circumstance to the highest bidder, or fall, so far as can be foreseen, into unworthy hands. With this object in view, it has been thought desirable that the members of the Committee should act *ex-officio*, that they should be precluded by their position from active party policies, and that they should represent various elements—e.g., judicial, academic, scientific, and financial,—in the national life. The following, therefore, have been invited, and have consented to serve:

- "The Lord Chief Justice of England,
- "The Warden of All Souls College, Oxford,
- "The President of the Royal Society,
- "The President of the Institute of Chartered Accountants,
- "The Governor of the Bank of England.

"They cannot, of course, bind their successors but in the event of any one or more of the future holders of their offices declining to act, or being incapable of acting, provision has been made for the appointment of members to the Committee in substitution for them".

## ABSOLUTE DISCRETION

The following extract from the Articles of Association of the Times Holding Company Ltd., defines the principles laid down for the guidance of the Committee in the event of any projected sale of the ordinary (that is, the controlling) shares:

In coming to their decision whether any proposed transferee is a proper person to hold Ordinary shares of the Company, the Committee shall have an absolute discretion and may give or withhold their approval on any ground whatever which they may think fit and proper, and without their being bound to give any reason therefor, it being the intention and an instruction to the Committee that inasmuch as the Company holds the absolute voting control in The Times Publishing Co. Ltd., which owns *The Times* newspaper, the Committee in coming to their decision, shall have regard to

the importance of (a) maintaining the best traditions and political independence of *The Times* newspaper, and national rather than personal interests, and (b) eliminating as far as reasonably possible questions of personal ambition or personal profit.

The evidence put before the Royal Commission describes the establishment of the Manchester Guardian Trust. It says when Mr. C.P. Scott acquired the *Manchester Guardian* in 1907, he established what has now become a tradition and is expressed in a trust deed, a policy of non-profit making. He drew no dividends, only a salary, and devoted what profits there were to strengthening and improving the paper.

In 1917, to ensure as far as he could continuity in its conduct he divided his ordinary shares which carried control of the company equally between himself, his son-in-law, C. E. Montague, and his two sons, J. R. Scott and E. T. Scott.

#### EDITORIAL CONTROL

After the retirement of C. E. Montague in 1923 and the deaths of C. P. Scott and E. T. Scott in 1932, J. R. Scott became sole holder. In 1936 he permanently divested himself of all beneficial interest and formed a trust to which all the ordinary shares in the *Manchester Guardian* and *Evening News Ltd.*, were assigned.

Dividends are receivable by the trust, which holds them impersonally for the development of the paper. Provisions are made for the future of the trust, which it is hoped are so devised as to preserve the paper's independence and integrity.

In the Scott Trust Settlement, the Settler states :

It has always been his family's policy to use profits for strengthening the newspapers and not for the payment of dividends, he wishes to secure the continuation of such a policy, and he does not desire to reserve for himself any beneficial interest in the shares.

The settled shares are held on trust by the trustees for 20 years.

The present trustees are four directors (all engaged in the actual production of the *Manchester Guardian*), two former directors, and Mr. Paul Patterson, the President of the *Baltimore Sun* who was asked during the critical war years, and consented, to become a trustee.

#### MAINTAINING POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

The Settler can dismiss or appoint trustees up to seven in number. "After his death the trustees can appoint new trustees. The trustees act by a majority, unless there are less than three when they may only act to appoint additional trustees. Clause 2 says :

The trustees may revoke the trust at any date after 31st March, 1941. Then or on the expiration of the trust period the trustees shall stand possessed of the settled shares and the trust fund upon trust for one or more of the following persons (a) editors or managers of departments (b) directors, (c) sons and nephews of the Settler (excluding the Settler himself but including the trustees) in such shares as the trustees decide within six months of the end of the trust. The trustees may make it a condition of transfer that the recipient shall covenant to pursue the same policy in conduct of the business and management of the finances as hitherto adopted.

Clause 3 says :

The Settler wishes the recipients to carry on the business as heretofore.

Other trusts followed on similar lines. In the case of the *Spectator* a Committee was established for the special purpose of safeguarding future transfers of 51 per cent. of the ordinary shares held by Sir Evelyn Wrench.

#### "THE ECONOMIST" TRUST

The *Economist* also is protected by a trust. The original trustees were Sir Josiah Stamp G.B.E., Sir William H. Beveridge, K.C.B., Sir Alan Anderson, K.B.E., and Sir Lawrence E. Halsey, K.B.E. Lord Stamp and Sir Lawrence Halsey having died, their places have been taken by Sir Oliver Franks and Sir Charles Hambro.

The trust is self-perpetuating. When a vacancy occurs the remaining trustees select some person to fill it. The consent of the trustees is required to every transfer of a share and they have to consider whether the transferee is a proper person to hold a share.

BOOKS THAT HAVE INFLUENCED ME: A Symposium. Rs. 1-8.

G. A. NATEAN & CO., PURVISERS, MADRAS.

# THE ASIAN LABOUR CONFERENCE

(O)

THE Asian Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation, the first of its kind to be held in Asia, met in the Constituent Assembly Hall, New Delhi, on October 27. It was inaugurated by Sir Guildenstane Myrddin-Evans, Chairman of the Governing Body. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, welcoming the 250 delegates who had come from twenty Eastern countries, emphasised the importance of bringing about a "tremendous rise in the standard of living in Asia." Poverty found prevailing anywhere, he said, would prove a source of danger to prosperity in every other part of the world.

Pandit Nehru commended the ILO's "famous declaration" of Philadelphia in 1944 and said that if only the world was governed by the principles laid down in that declaration, there would hardly be any major trouble in this world.

Pointing out that most of the countries of Asia were still, or were likely to continue to be predominantly agricultural countries, Pandit Nehru said that the approach to labour problems in India must primarily take into consideration agricultural conditions.

Pandit Nehru hoped that the time would come soon when every form of colonialism would disappear from Asia

and, I hope that this Conference—it is very representative as it is—will be even more representative of the people of Asia than it is to-day.

Proposed by China and seconded by the Pakistan delegate, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, India's Labour Minister, was elected President of the Conference.

## President's Opening Speech

Mr. Jagjivan Ram, in his presidential address, said it was the earnest desire of India to do all she could to support the I.L.O. to enable it to pursue the noble ideals.

Our aim is the promotion of peace and goodwill among nations, so that we may build up an international brotherhood, in which there will be

neither fear nor want, and every nation will be able to develop its own way of life in harmony with others.

He referred "to the striking affinity between the ideals of the I.L.O. and those of our own," and said, "We are trying to enshrine many of these in our Constitution as directive principles of State policy." The declared policy of the State, he added, would be

to secure protection against the employment of workers in occupations unsuited to their age or strength; the protection of children and young persons against exploitation, moral and material abandonment, and the provision of a decent standard of living.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram pleaded for a start to be made to improve the conditions of agricultural workers who he said, constituted the vast majority in all Asian countries.

"The main strength of this organisation," he added, "is in its representative character. It is necessary that in the selection of delegates and advisers from Asian countries, and more particularly in regard to this regional Conference which is mainly of Asian countries, effort should be made to secure the representation of agriculturists, both employers and workers, and of handicraftsmen."

The Conference met again in the afternoon to elect three Vice-Presidents—one each from among Government, employers, and working delegates.

## Conference sets up three Committees

Addressing the Conference the next day Mr. Jagjivan Ram said that it should be the task of this Asian Labour Conference to consider

how best we could help in furthering plans of economic development, to take stock periodically of the increase in the national wealth brought about by such developments and formulate schemes for distributing it on an equitable basis.

This task, he added, could be accomplished only if we gave to our problems detailed and systematic consideration.

Mr. Kamal-Kumar, acting Director of the United Nations Organisation, Delhi, and Mr. Chandramani, of the World Health Organisation Interim Commission, conveyed greetings to the Conference on behalf of their respective organisations and assured their whole-hearted co-operation.



The Conference set up three Committees on Labour policy, programme of action and social security—which held their first meetings in the afternoon.

The President, in concluding the proceedings for the day said that a grandiose plan was not needed but concrete steps to achieve immediate social objectives "This great endeavour", he said, "will require the joint efforts of us all". He emphasised that this and subsequent conferences in Asia should consider what institutions were required for this purpose.

Thereafter the Committees set to work and evolved resolutions to be adopted by General body of the Conference.

#### Dr. S. P. Mookherjee's Speech

On the 31st October Dr Shyam Prasad Mookherjee, India's Supply Minister and Government delegate, addressing the delegates said that unless the I.L.O. could be properly oriented to deal with Asian problems, it would fail as an international organisation. "We cannot let it fail", he said, "for that would be the end of all truly international effort to promote social progress".

Calling for a different approach to Asian problems and demanding the fulfilment on the Philadelphia Charter, Dr. Mookherjee indicated how the I.L.O. could assist India and Asia to eradicate poverty and build up a better, prosperous world. The I.L.O., he said,

could enlist the co-operation and help of employers and workers in other countries to enable India to organise in a short period the necessary training and technical skill required for the achievement of her river and hydro electric development schemes and her plans for increased agricultural and industrial production. It could mobilise international public opinion to the urgent need of furthering the development of Asian countries as the only means of raising the standard of living of their peoples, who numbered half the world's total population.

#### Resolutions

On November 5, the Conference met in full session to adopt five resolutions relating to intensification of the Asian Work of the I.L.O., labour standard in Japan, tripartite organisations, increased production and seafarers.

The resolution on Social security was adopted the next day with two amendments moved by Dr A. M. Malik, workers' delegate from Pakistan. •

#### End of the Session

The Conference concluded its session on November 8 after adopting several resolutions for the economic development of Asian countries. The Delhi session also laid down a programme of action for the enforcement of social standards embodied in the I.L.O. conventions and recommendation.

Mr Jagjivan Ram, President of the Conference, urged the I.L.O. to devote more of its time and interest to the affairs of Asian countries so as to raise their social standards.

Summing up the task accomplished by the Conference Mr Jagjivan Ram said that the various resolutions adopted, if given effect to, could go a long way in the creation of a happier and healthier world, free from domination and exploitation. A world torn asunder by wars and conflicts of ideas was in urgent need of new co-operation and understanding. This, he said, could best be achieved by a closer understanding of one another's problems and difficulties. Asian countries were anxious to improve the social conditions of its working classes and he hoped that they would succeed in this noble mission.

Mr Pao Hua-Kuo, Vice-President of the Conference, congratulated the conference for the great work done. He hoped that when they next met in China some of the resolutions adopted here would have been implemented.

Mr. N. M. Joshi referred to the small deficiency as regards the representation of two countries, Indonesia and Japan, and hoped that it would be made up at the next conference. The representative character of the conference indicated the full recognition of the need for international collaboration.

# INDIAN AFFAIRS

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## Standstill agreement with the Nizam

THERE is undoubtedly a sigh of relief that the protracted negotiations between Delhi and Hyderabad have come to an end though the result is only a standstill agreement for a year. It would have been highly creditable and inspiring, if as the premier State in India, Hyderabad had completely identified itself earlier with the Union and set a wholesome example to the other States. That was not to be, thanks to the intransigence of certain irresponsible elements in the State. The negotiations that have been concluded with due respect to the *amour propre* of the parties concerned are, we believe, not different in substance from the normal agreements with other States, though the wording of the terms may vary. In the words of the Sardar:

Under this settlement, all agreements and administrative arrangements on matters of common concerns which formerly existed between the Crown Representative and the Hyderabad State, except the Paramountcy functions, are to be continued as between the Government of India and the Hyderabad State for a period of one year. These agreements and arrangements cover a wide variety of matters including the three subjects on which accession of all the States has been accepted, viz., Defence, External Affairs and Communication.

With the release of prisoners and the proposed formation of an interim Government we look forward to favourable conditions for a final settlement.

## The Interim Budget

In presenting the first budget of a free and independent India for the period of 7½ months from the declaration of independence on August 15, Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, the Finance member, struck a note of confidence and optimism, so necessary in the present depressing condition of affairs in India. Of course there is a deficit—but that is due to the abnormal situation created by the unexpected expenditure on defence and refugees and the payment of subsidies for food grains. Once we reach fairly normal conditions and reduce the defence expenditure we should be able to balance the budget. A cheerful feature of the budget is the absence of any fresh

taxation except a small increase in the export duty on cotton cloth and yarn. Mr. Shanmukham's encouraging words to industrialists must go a long way to stabilise the market. His promise to review taxation policy with a view to make necessary adjustments must also instil confidence in private enterprise. So far the financial position is sound.

## The Indian Issue in U. N. A.

It is regrettable that the debate on the Indo-South African issue in the U. N. General Assembly should have proved so inconclusive. The voting on the resolution calling for a Round Table Conference, though favourable, yet lacked the two third majority required by the rules. On this technical score, if the question is to be shelved altogether what is to become of the Assembly's directive to South Africa,

—that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two countries, and the relevant provisions of the Charter

Gen. Smuts has deliberately scouted this call and the Union Government continues to defy the U. N. Even the latest move of the Indian delegation to introduce a resolution which would secure the necessary majority was abandoned owing to procedural difficulties. The nature of the voting on the Indian resolution shows that it is still the racial bar that stands in the way. Strangely enough, it is the United Kingdom, the whole British Commonwealth bloc and United States of America that voted against India and sheltered the erring member. Surely this is not the way to cement a fast disintegrating Empire nor worthy of an institution taking on itself the high task of world peace and international good understanding. State-mate in a cause like India's righteous case against S. A. does not augur well for the future of the U. N. O. It will go the way of the late League of Nations, if it should persist in wrong doing and shut its eyes to the consequences.

### Independence for Burma

Burma becomes independent on January 4, 1948 and the Independence Bill passed by the British Parliament declares that Britain will no more be responsible for the protection of Burma against external aggression. India and Pakistan, and latterly Ceylon as members of the British Commonwealth will, however, be entitled to such protection. Burma has got what she wanted and it is hoped that there will be sufficient statesmanship in the country to pool all its resources in the service of the state which needs unity and peace for its progress and even for its maintenance as a free state.

The terms of the independence Bill are extremely generous. A treaty is to be concluded between the two countries. Twenty million pounds of Burma's debt is to be waived. The remainder is to be paid in a number of years without interest.

India extends her warm congratulations to her neighbour on the acquisition of her new status and prays that she may have the strength and wisdom to retain the independence untarnished.

### Self Government for Ceylon

The inauguration of the New Dominion Parliament in Ceylon on November 25, marks a new chapter of fulfilment of the people's hopes and struggles in the history of the island. Recent debates in the British Parliament on the second reading of the Ceylon Independence Bill made it clear that the island will attain full Responsible Government with Dominion Status at the earliest time possible. In his broadcast on the eve of the inauguration of the New Constitution Sir Henry Monckton Moore, the Governor, stressed the fact that the island's political freedom was not being foisted on her, but was essentially the thing she herself sought. India, which has just attained her own independence, extends to her friend and neighbour of historic traditions, all the felicitations attendant on her new status. We have, no doubt, that our own relations with the island will be discussed and settled at the highest level to mutual advantage.

### Indo-Pakistan Relations

It would appear that Mr. Jinnah is obsessed by the fear, that the Indian Government is angling for drawing Pakistan into the Union or in other ways trying to weaken the new State. "Pakistan" he says in a recent interview to a foreign press, "will never surrender"

and never agree in any shape or form to any constitutional union between the two sovereign States, with one common Centre. We must try to stop any effort or attempt which is intended to bring about a forced union of the two Dominions.

It is a false cry, evidently intended for foreign consumption. For while the Hindus' habitual goodwill to neighbours is always there, the leaders of Government are determined to see that the separation of States is complete and for the moment settled. As the Sardar said the other day. "When we accepted division it was like ourselves agreeing to have a diseased limb amputated so that the remaining part may live in a sound condition." The general feeling in India is therefore to leave "Pakistan to stew in its own juice." There is therefore no need to start this bogey of India trying to sabotage anybody. Indian leaders seem to feel "we have had enough of your troubles. We are glad to be rid of you." So Pakistan may be quite easy on that score. But you cannot stop Gandhi and the good men of India wishing the people of Pakistan the friendliest goodwill and the best of luck.

It is rather ludicrous of a leader of Mr. Jinnah's status to describe the communal trouble as "well-planned, well-organised and well-directed with the object of paralysing the new-born Dominion of Pakistan." "There is only one remedy now left," he added.

That is for the Indian Dominion to deal ruthlessly with this diabolical conspiracy and extirpate the roots of this plot and the powerful men who are behind the organisation.

It is for Mr. Jinnah to apply this wholesome prescription in his own State and restore some semblance of authority and orderly government in Pakistan.

**Bad Manners in High Places**

"The accession of Kashmir to India is a fraud perpetrated on the people of Kashmir by its cowardly ruler with the aggressive help of the India Government." This is the language used by a responsible Minister of State—Mr. Liaquat Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan. To charge a friendly and neighbouring State with "fraud" and damn a ruling Prince as a "coward" is a kind of insolence which may pass muster in certain circles, but it is, to put it mildly, undiplomatic and indecent. The only answer to this kind of insolence is to treat it with contempt. And it is just possible that the Government of India declined to parley on equal terms with persons who are unable to put their case with the elementary sense of fairness or decency. Mr. Liaquat Ali has evidently stolen the thunder from his chief who is a past master in the cheap and juvenile art of invective. It is time the Pakistan authorities learn to mend their manners and realise that vulgarity doesn't pay.

**The Congress President**

Acharya Kripalani's valedictory address to the A.I.U.C. was a masterly survey of the situation in India, coupled with observations and criticisms with which most readers will agree. But then, nobody in particular is responsible for this present posture of affairs, and it is generally admitted that the Nehru Government, backed by the Congress, is handling the situation with courage and intrepidity. Much water has flowed under the bridge since August 15 when India became free, and the Congress, whose main objective of independence having been attained, is now faced with other tasks no less urgent and important. "Freedom brings responsibility and new burdens and problems," says the resolution on the elimination of foreign rule in India. And it is to these that Congress must now address itself. The Acharya deplored that the Government had not been sufficiently in touch with the

Congress mind. It is true that the new Government had not taken directions from the Congress command; but then one must remember that most of the top ranking members of the Government are also leaders of the Congress; and the newly constituted Cabinet is not exactly a Congress Government but a composite body representing the varied interests of the Nation. Yet in accepting the Acharya's resignation and electing, Dr. Rajendra Prasad in his place they have virtually accepted his plea and given effect to his suggestion. For Rajen Babu, as member of Government in charge of an important portfolio, is a leading Congressman, and it is certainly desirable to have as Congress President one who is familiar not only with Government policy but also with the trends of Congress policy.

**Justice Patanjali Sastri**

If there is an instance in which a new appointment to a high office has given universal satisfaction to the profession and the public alike, it is the elevation of Justice Patanjali Sastri to the Federal Court. During the nine years he has been on the Madras Bench his judicial mind and judicial temper, coupled with a modesty which has always been associated with his distinguished predecessor in the new office—another great Madras Judge, Sir S. Varadachariar—have elicited warm appreciation of the Bench and Bar.

Patient and painstaking, unruffled by the tempers unleashed in conflicting arguments, courteous and unassuming, ready with the soft word that turneth away wrath, Mr. Sastri brings to his high office learning and experience of no mean value. At the farewell gathering of the Bench and Bar in the High Court the Advocate General paid a well deserved tribute to Mr. Sastri when he said that "he possessed all that was necessary to constitute an ideal Judge of the Supreme Court of India." It is fitting that men of his type should be available at the centre where new and grave problems of far reaching import, touching intricate issues of States and Provinces in their relation to the Union will step up for decision at the highest level in Free India.

### C. R. as Acting Governor-General

Whenever Congress or Congress Governments were confronted with a ticklish situation they always looked to either Rajen Babu or C. R. to straighten matters. More than once Dr. Rajendra Prasad had come to the rescue with his tact and sound judgment. C. R. has similarly played the role with equal success. At the time when Bengal was cut asunder and was seething with violence and murder they chose C. R. for a difficult job; and C. R. left his place in the Central Cabinet to take charge of what was then thought a dangerous office. But within a few weeks, thanks to Gandhiji's peace mission and other favourable circumstances, the Governor of West Bengal found himself at home in that distracted province. But it required courage and guts of no ordinary kind to accept the call at such a time. C. R. determined to face the ordeal manfully and strove to change the atmosphere into one of cordiality and good humour. The way C. R. disarmed the opposition—even the irrational opposition engineered against a Madrassee—and triumphed over a definitely uncongenial atmosphere marked him out as the elect of men. And when Lord Mountbatten left for London to attend the Royal wedding the honour of filling his place appropriately fell to C. R. As the first Indian Governor General of India—though Acting Governor-General—the occasion naturally evoked the heartiest felicitations from all over the country. And what was C. R.'s reaction to this widespread sense of gratification? C. R. said modestly: "My period of office now . . . is of no great importance. Whatever change took place, did take place on August 16, 1947. Mountbatten is as much an Indian Governor-General as I am now styled." Evidently he is of those who are an honour to the office they hold and not one who is made great by virtue of his office.

### Lord Mountbatten on Pandit Nehru

Lord Mountbatten's tribute to Pandit Nehru, India's Prime Minister, at the unveiling of his portrait at the India House, London, the other day, was remarkable in many ways. He said that when history came to be written Pandit Nehru would prove to have been one of the greatest men any country had had at any time in history. He was a man of the highest imaginable integrity, a man who had never at any time, in any stress, suggested any policy or action of which he or his countrymen would ever need to be ashamed when history came to be written.

Thus it was not merely a personal tribute to a great character but a tribute to the administration over which he presides. Lord Mountbatten has had opportunities of coming into intimate contact with the Pandit and of studying him in his private and public life, and this encomium is a well deserved expression of public appreciation of Nehru, as man and statesman.

### Exaggerated Stories of Mass Migrations

Incidentally Lord Mountbatten took the occasion to prick the bubble of exaggerated stories of mass massacres and migrations current in reactionary circle in England and America. They seem to chuckle over our discomfiture and Mr. Churchill and other of his tribe do not hesitate to point the finger of scorn at the killings in the recent crisis. Only three per cent. of India's 400,000,000 people, said Lord Mountbatten, were involved in the trouble spots, the remaining 97 per cent. were living in peace and quietness. "The massacres in India have been bad enough," observed His Excellency, but he had "no hesitation in saying that they would not only be far less than anyone else at the moment thought but will be a small fraction of the large figures which have been quoted."

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By "CHRONICLER"

## Partition of Palestine

The plan for the partition of Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish States was approved by the United Nations General Assembly on Saturday the 29th November by 33 votes to 13 with ten absentions.

Indian, Pakistan and Arab delegates walked out in a body as a protest against the decision of the Assembly saying that they were not bound by the decision and reserved the right to take whatever decision they thought fit.

Tension mounted in Middle East countries within a few hours of the United Nations' decision to partition the Holy Land. In Cairo, Abdel Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary General of the Seven-nation Arab League, fresh from a tour of the League's member States, declared "The partition decision will set fire to the Near East."

## Jap Peace Treaty

Vyacheslav Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister, replying to a Chinese Government note on the method of beginning work for a Japanese peace treaty said the Soviet Government proposes to call a special session of the Council of Foreign Ministers in China.

China, the United States, Britain and Russia would take part in the conference, M. Molotov's note said. He asked for the agreement of the Chinese Government for the conference to meet in China.

His proposal was made in reply to a Chinese Government note addressed to all members of the eleven-nation Far Eastern Commission, suggesting that a draft peace treaty with Japan be made at a meeting of all eleven nations but with the four great Powers exercising a veto right.

## Edinburgh By-Election Results

Britain's Labour Government has won the last Edinburgh parliamentary bye-election. It has thus continued its remarkable record of not losing a single Labour seat at the bye-election since the Government was returned to power in 1945. This was the 23rd of such bye-elections.

## Soviet-Iran Policy

An "emphatic rejection" charge that Iran is "following" policy towards the Soviet Union contained in a note sent by the Premier, Ghavam ex-Sultaneh, Soviet Ambassador, M. Sadhikh.

The Soviet protest had yarned the Iranian Government that "grave consequences" might follow the rejection by the Iranian Parliament of the agreement granting North Persian rights to Russia.

The note said that the Iranian Government and nation had not followed nor were following discriminatory policy against the Soviet Union. "We can only live in a peaceful atmosphere if a stop is put to the unwarranted propaganda of Moscow and Baku Radios," the note said.

The Iranian Government having explored the possibility of forming a joint oil company had presented the project to the Majlis (Parliament) but the Majlis had not endorsed the agreement having found it incompatible with the law.

## Marxist League for Burma

Dissolution of the Burmese Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League and the formation of a Marxist League, combining the Socialist Party and the People's Volunteer Corps, as free Burma's premier political organization, is forecast in Burmese quarters.

The Marxist League will contest the first Burmese elections under the New constitution, it is expected, and will present to the country a programme of State Socialism, the main feature of which will be the abolition of private ownership of agricultural land. For the time being, the Marxist League will function under the A.F.P.F.L. banner, but will emerge as an independent political party with the expected retirement next June of the Prime Minister, Thakin Nu, the present leader of the Freedom League.

## Bulgarian Complaint To U. N.

The Bulgarian Government has filed a new complaint with the U. N. Security Council alleging Greek Monarchist provocations along the frontier with Greece.

# The WORLD of BOOKS



(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

INDIA IN KALIDASA. By B. S. Upadhyaya.  
With a Foreword by E. J. Thomas,  
Price Rs. 25/- Kitabistan, Allahabad.

A bulky and sumptuous volume worthy of the great Kalidasa of immortal fame. Herein we have a vivid picture of India, not a merely imaginative impression but as Prof. Thomas rightly states in his Foreword 'a picture resting on a solid basis'. The India described by the author is our Bharatha Varsha as seen through the eyes of one of her greatest poets. Prof. Upadhyaya who has spent over a decade in the preparation of this monumental volume has endeavoured very successfully indeed to give a picture of the times in which the great poet lived and wrote. But that is not all. We have in the publication under review a vivid idea of the beliefs and ideals of the age of Kalidasa. It is as the author justly claims "a composite picture of both the traditional and historical India." The vast world described by the genius of the poet which has hitherto been 'a sealed book to us' has been embodied in this volume.

The arrangement of the work has been made under a comprehensive scheme of seven books namely the geographical data, polity and governance, social life, fine arts, economic life, education and learning and lastly religion and philosophy. As one would naturally expect the main scope of this unique book has been the works of the poet himself. We have the testimony of Prof. Thomas that the author's treatment of the subject 'is thoroughly scientific and carefully carried out' . . . . 'a store of information and a stimulus to further research'.

SONG OF INDIA. By Frank Clune, (Thacker & Co. Ltd., P. O. Box 190, Bombay. Rs. 12-8.)

'Song of India' is not just another of those books which seasonal tourists from England and America turn out with mechanical ease. There is in this book nothing of the cocksureness and ill-mannered assumptions so common in Miss Mayo or Beverley Nicholas. This young Australian Journalist came to India with the best credentials, saw all the places and peoples worth seeing, and altogether made the best of his time in this country. Doubtless, he was impressed by all the wonders and glories of this country and in this record of fleeting impressions he has tried to convey some glimpses of the multi-coloured Indian scene in language which is as vigorous as it is charming. He brings to his task not only a keen observant eye but a sympathetic and understanding mind. The result is a racy and readable record of things worth reading about. Clune does the usual things done by most tourists, he sees the big cities, admires the Taj and the Ajanta caves, meets most of the people worth meeting (though he missed Gandhi and Nehru about whom, however, he writes with consummate understanding) and enjoys the hospitality of the princes. Of all this he writes with such candour and native charm, with such good humour and humanity, and in a style so vigorous and racy that easily lifts this book clearly out of the rut of the usual kind of travel books about the East.

**TOM MUNRO SAHEB: Governor of Madras.**

A Portrait with a selection of his letters by P. R. Krishnaswami. With a Foreword by H. E. Sir Archibald Nye, (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras Rs. 4-8.)

It is sometimes said that the History of British connection with India is the history of the Clives and Hastingses. The few silver linings have generally been provided by parliamentarians like Burke, Sheridan, and Fox. Mr. Krishnaswami's little volume enables us to remember the few great British administrators like Sir Arthur Cotton, Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir Thomas Munro who laid the foundations for the beneficial aspects of the British rule in India.

A perusal of the book confirms the possibility of Chantrey's equestrian statue at Mount Road being the result of real public contribution. At a time when the friendship between this country and Britain is at its highest, appreciative studies of friendly Britons are bound to have a wholesome effect.

Now that British rule in India has come to an end there is a peculiar appropriateness in recalling the life and work of one of the greatest of British Indian administrators who worked for such a fulfilment in his own way by insisting on the gradual substitution of Indians in all public services. The selection of letters deals with the public no less than the private activities and opinions of Sir Thomas. And Mr. Krishnaswami in his portrait has done well to present a true picture of the man and statesman, not forgetting that even a hero is not without his blemishes. The portrait is all the more attractive for its revelation of the very human qualities of a truly great man—his frailties

and prejudices no less known virtues. The commendation for the faithfulness of a great historic character, interpretation duly authenticated, extracts from original sources.

The book is a further amplification. Mr. Krishnaswami's novel and interesting theory that Munro, the Governor of Madras, was the original of Thackeray's Newcome.

**EMINENT INDIANS.** D. B. Dhanapala, Nalanda Publications, Sir Phroze Shah Road, Bombay.

Here are pen pictures of some of India's great men and women, and of some not so great too. Gandhi and Nehru and Patel and C. R. and Sarojini and a dozen others are portrayed with a vividness and colour that make the reading pleasant. The author is a brilliant Ceylonese journalist who has been doing these sketches under the pen name of "Janus" in a North Indian periodical. It is good to have these scattered writings in a compendious form.

**TALES AND PARABLES of Sri Ramakrishna.** Sri Ramakrishna Math, Myslapore.

Jesus taught the multitudes in parables; and so did the Vedic sages and Buddha and Mahomed. Sri Ramakrishna continued the tradition and the present volume is a precious collection of his sayings. Most of these parables are drawn from ordinary domestic life, familiar to the people around him and their morals lie on the surface. Flowering out of a life of simple piety and devotion they are apt and vivid, bringing the truths home to the listeners. What is more, they have a humorous vein and bear witness to the master's consummate wit and keenness of observation. It is a pocketful of popular wisdom we have in this fine little book.



# DIARY OF THE MONTH

: 0 :

Nov. 1. Indian troops occupy Mangrol and Babariawad.

Nov. 2. U. N. Assembly passes Indian resolution on S. W. Africa.

Nov. 3. Madras Assembly passes Shop Assistants Bill.

—C. H. Bhaba outlines six-point plan.

Nov. 4. Patel and Baldev Singh in Kashmir. Hindus in large bodies leave Hyderabad.

Nov. 5. Food Ministers' Conference in New Delhi.

Nov. 6. Commons approve Burma Independence Bill.

—Thakin Nu, Burmese Premier, shot at.

Nov. 7. Kashmir raiders pushed back.

—India presents resolution on S. A. issue to U. N. Committee.

Nov. 8. Indian troops enter Junagadh: administration taken over by Government of India.

Nov. 9. Muslim leaders meet in Calcutta.

—Army seizes power in Siam.

Nov. 10. C. R. sworn in as acting Governor-General: Sir B. L. Mitter takes C. R.'s place in West Bengal.

Nov. 11. Nehru visits devastated areas, in Kashmir.

—Sardar Patel in Kathiawar.

—Indian troops move to Tripura border to restore order.

Nov. 12. Gandhiji replies to Pakistan's Charges.

—Dr. Dalton presents Britain's Budget doubling tax on profits.

Nov. 13. Maulana Azad convenes a Convention of Muslim leaders at Delhi. Sardar Patel warns Hyderabad.

Nov. 14. Secret documents seized in Pakistan—bored plane at Amani aerodrome.

—Dr. Hugh Dalton, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer resigns, Sir Stafford Cripps taking his place.

Nov. 15. Acharya Kripalani submits resignation of Presidentship to A. I. C. C.

Nov. 16. Shaikh Abdullah's call to Islamic countries.

Nov. 17. Dr. Rajendra Prasad elected Congress President.

—Mr. G. V. Mavlankar unanimously elected Speaker of the Indian Union Assembly.

Nov. 18. Soviet and U.S. agree on Partition plan of Palestine.

Nov. 19. M. Paul Ramadier resigns the French Premiership.

Nov. 20. Wedding of Princess Elizabeth to the Duke of Edinburgh (Lt. Mountbatten).

Nov. 21. Britain favours handing of Palestine to U.N. Committee.

Nov. 22. Operations in Kashmir: Poonch garrison relieved.

—Robert Schuman heads new French Ministry.

Nov. 23. Ittehad leader meets Patel in Delhi.

—Schuman forms 4-Party Cabinet for France.

Nov. 24. Lord Mountbatten back in Delhi.

—Muslim League to be wound up in Pakistan.

Nov. 25. Delhi-Hyderabad talks conclude: Stand-Still agreement made.

—New Ceylon Constitution inaugurated.

Nov. 26. First Budget of Free India presented in the Constituent Assembly.

Nov. 27. Big four talks in London.

—Shaikh Abdullah rejects Pakistan's demand for referendum in Kashmir.

Nov. 28. Indo-Pakistan high level talks at Delhi.

—Nizam signs Standstill pact with India.

Nov. 30. Gen. Auchinleck the Supreme Commander resigns.

—Hyderabad prisoners released.



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## FACING FACTS IN INDIA

Tragedy followed closely on the heels of the rejoicings over India's freedom, giving die-hards an opportunity to say "We told you so." But, sorrowful as all right-thinking men must feel over recent events, there is no ground for despair, observes *The Aryan Path*. For what revolution was ever wholly peaceful? "We may not take the disturbances so lightly as Mr. Bernard Shaw, who likened them to the diseases of childhood, but we can see that the old India of mutual suspicion, and animosity is in travail so that the new India of mutual sympathy and understanding may come to birth."

Thus, while we may not minimise the sufferings caused, we need not over-emphasise the tragedy. Its lessons are, however, to be learned. "The most serious aspect of the tragedy is not the rivers of blood that are flowing to-day but the betrayal of the masses yesterday. Those leaders who should have taught tolerance by precept and example taught the people to look on those of other political faiths as enemies. The disturbances are rooted not in religion but in political fanaticism fanned in the name of communal rights. *Goondas* or gangsters took advantage of this and have enacted the tragedy, the ill effects of which will be felt for long years both in India and in Pakistan. This ought to be made clear to the world at large, and especially to the United States of America."

The cause of the failure of the plans of Gandhiji lies not at his door, says the writer, but at the door of his many professed followers who accepted his programme for expediency's sake, and not from heart conviction of his principles." But the all-important task of welding the men and women of India into unity is still facing us.

## THE NORTH WEST OF INDIA

The North West of India has all through historic times been considered a strategic point. Not only on grounds of geographical position is the North West important to India but it is culturally the source and pivot of Hindu culture from of old, observes Dr. V. Raghavan in the *Vrdanta Kesari*.

To one who knows the history of India and Hinduism, of Indian art and literature, no tract of this ancient land would arouse more glorious memories than the great North-west. Who can love the Veda, and yet give its lands of the Sindhu? Who can love Sanskrit and yet not love the North west? Was it not here, at the place called Salatura, that our foremost grammarian Panini was born? When the Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang toured this area in the 7th Century A. D. and visited this village near the modern Attock, Panini's statue was still standing there. Taxila was the famous university which made this region the centre of all advanced knowledge in ancient times."

To the Gandharvas of the Gandhara country in the North-west, we owe our music, the *Gandharva Veda* no less than our ancient horses. Many of the celebrated characters in our Epics hailed from countries of this region: queen Gandhari from Gandhara, queen Madri from Madra, queen Kaikeyi from Kekaya; here it was that the two sons of Bharata, Rama's brother ruled; this was the land of the Bharatas and the Kambhojas; Kashmir, a part of this territory, held its fame as the pre-eminent home of literary, artistic and cultural activity till as late as the twelfth century when Sri Harsha referred to his poem as having been accepted by the Kashmiris who knew all the fourteen branches of learning.

## MUSLIM UNDERGROUND ACTIVITY

Writing of Mr. Jinnah's policy and its consequences Mr. E. Vinayaka Rao points out in the pages of the *Bharata Pharna* that certain recent events have made clear beyond doubt the aggressive policies entertained by Muslim politicians and the careful planning and financing of these designs.

We were having frequent reports of large consignments of knives, daggers and other weapons sent to different parts of India where there were Muslim populations. The discovery of unlicensed arms and ammunitions including modern weapons in Muslim localities and in Muslim houses have now been made public in different places. The investigations at Jubulpore have made it clear that Muslim officers had to be removed from service as the result of enquiries made on the disappearance of large quantities of arms and ammunition from the Ordnance depots. In the Delhi happenings it was discovered that Muslim officers and Muslim constables had deserted from the Police force in numbers and they were not available when the crisis came. The discovery of secret factories with modern machinery for the manufacture of arms and ammunition in Muslim areas under the cover of places of worship or innocent looking shops is a significant pointer. The political controversy which was fed on the promotion of communal hatred on an un-paralleled scale and intensity, and the organised and well directed preparations which the events have disclosed have done the worst mischief.

Now that Pakistan has been achieved, those who believed in the philosophy of the resolution that was adopted by the Muslim Legislators convention, says the writer, must necessarily get away to Pakistan if they cannot continue to remain as loyal citizens of the Indian Dominion, who should have full freedom to take such action as may be open to them to ensure the development and maintenance of a true national spirit and the total extermination and elimination of every form of separatism based on religion.

The false cry of religion in danger should not be permitted to be raised if wholesome reforms are effected to produce and maintain a true national spirit, nor any outside State be permitted to interfere with effective action in the guise of the protection of Indian Muslims. That responsibility is fact and in law, belongs to the Indian Dominion so far as their nationals are concerned and not to any outside State. On this point, effective declarations in the right time at Government levels should be made and enforced without allowing the position to deteriorate as the result of inaction or still feebleness in action.

If, as we know, continues the writer, British Imperialism was responsible to sow the seeds of disunion and drive deep wedges into India's unity in the shape of separate electorates and the other ills now that the hand of that malignant Imperialism is withdrawn, the healing hand of Nationalism must begin to function, with the result that

(1) separate electorates should go; (2) weightage should be totally abolished (3) communal representation should be entirely abolished in the civil and military services; (4) key positions should be entrusted only to tried and veteran nationalists with a clean record; (5) separate provision for Muslim Chambers of Commerce, Muslim schools, orphanages should be all abolished; (6) Muslims in the Indian Dominions should be made to feel that they are no less and no more than other citizens and they must take their chances equally with them and discharge their obligations with the same loyalty and efficiency as non-Muslim.

## MAHATMA: THE PUBLIC SPELL-BINDER

The *Christian Science Monitor* of U. S. has published an interview with Gandhiji by its New Delhi correspondent, Ronald Stead.

"It was a unique experience, this personal interview with India's famous leader," writes Mr. Stead. "Sitting down before him on the floor, we take stock of the little lawyer who has become such a giant in Indian history. His lean brown body is as bare from the waist up as that of the poorest Indian peasant, and except for the years that are written in his face, he looks like a man half his age. His voice rises little above a whisper. Within reach of his hand is a miniature, short-legged writing desk. There are papers on it awaiting attention, and one small ornament. This is a statuette of three monkeys famous in Oriental legend. One has its hands over its eyes, another its hands over its ears, the third its mouth—symbolic adjuration to see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil."

That is what Mahatma Gandhi is exhorting India's communities to do in relation to one another now so that recrimination may not continue to keep them at bitter variance, as it does at present.

He has criticized the misbehaviour of Muslims and non-Muslims alike. In this connection he observes with a very little smile:

I used to be represented as an enemy of the Muslims. Now, because I castigate the Hindus for misdemeanors which they, like the Muslims, have been guilty of, I am being represented in some quarters as an enemy of the Hindus. The fact is, I am an enemy only of wrongdoing.

"But there is no gainsaying that he is the expression of right conduct to millions of his countrymen. And there is no gainsaying that persons at the topmost levels of authority attach the greatest importance to his view. There was a reminder of this when our interview was terminated by the arrival of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Before we walked out of the door, he was squatting beside Mahatma Gandhi in earnest conclave."

The chief impressions which Mr. Stead carried away from the interview are "of Mahatma Gandhi's personal tranquillity combined with inflexibility, of his depth and perspective that links problems of the future with lessons of the past through the many years of his public life as an astute politician. There also is the sense one rapidly acquires that he feels himself to be the only man in the maze who knows his way out.

Even in his brief, informal talk, one could glimpse the public spellbinder—a man with a perfect sense of timing, with complete attunement to the moods of the Indian masses and with entree to their innermost thoughts.

One felt it was of immense importance to both India and Pakistan that, freed from political aspirations and administrative duties, this sage should have dedicated his days 'to replace communal hatred by communal brotherhood.'

In view of the chaos, this may seem a visionary programme, useful in more propitious circumstances.

Actually, however, it is intensely practical, for one of the worst impediments in meeting the demands of the emergency has been the difficulty Muslims and non-Muslims experienced in working together harmoniously and trustingly on projects requiring close co-operation and mutual confidence for effective accomplishments.

## SWATANTRA ANNUAL

The *Swatantra* Annual is a bouquet of fine writing. Incidentally it is interesting to learn that it was C. R. who chose the name *Swatantra* for the weekly, just as he gave the name *Swarajya* to Mr. Prakasam's daily which fought many a good fight in the old days. *Swatantra* was born just a year and nine months ago but it has already made a name for itself for the courage and trenchancy of its criticisms. Not all the hard things said of some will be endorsed by all, but there is no malice in 'Saka' and his frank comments are a wholesome tonic. The special number has many attractive features, not the least of which are the coloured plates that adorn it.

C. R. offers some wholesome advice to Editors, and through them to the vast body of Government officials. "The Press must take the officials in hand," he states,

and nurse them into shape by persuasion and encouragement. Civil servants must be made to discover their souls and realise their great place in the new revolution, which is more fundamental and more important than the transfer of power that Britain has completed. Freedom, like the Ganges that was brought down by Bhagiratha, must fall on the head and go through the tangled and matted hair of Paramasiva's head—the administration of the officials—so that its sacred waters may flow over the land and give life to those who have so long waited to be redeemed to happiness.

And then there are other articles of striking interest. Mr. Prakasam himself writes of his old "*Swarajya* days"; and Pothan Joseph, Chellapathi Rao and Iswar Dutt and Ramakotiswara Rao and Freelance—all journalists—supply vivid sketches of men and things. K. S. offers a metrical version of Bharati's famous song—"Kannan, my servant." Above all we have the delightful musings of Vighneswara in fine resplendent prose—sparkling with chiselled phrases and curiously suggestive of vast reading and profound meditation on many subjects. *Swatantra* must be congratulated on giving a free hand to this superb penman who is doing in his rich allusive what the delightful Elia did for the *London Magazine*.

## SRI RAMAKRISHNA IN A WRESTLING BOUT

Describing the first meeting with Ramakrishna Paramhansa at Dakshineswar, Swami Virajananda told an appreciative audience at Belur of how the Master challenged him to a wrestling bout! This is recorded in the "Talks with Swami Virajananda" appearing in *Prabuddha Bharata*.

"I was then about eighteen years old and was studying in a Calcutta college. One afternoon we went to see the Master at Dakshineswar for the first time," he said. "On arrival we saw that the Master's room was crowded with people. I bowed to him and sat quietly in a corner. The Master was seated on a small cot and talked cheerfully with the people. From the corner of the room I saw and heard everything and derived infinite joy in his presence for a pretty long time.

"I was not so interested in the conversation going on in full swing as in looking at him attentively. He did not tell me anything nor did I ask him anything. Gradually all the others went away hither and thither and leaving me alone with the Master. Still seated on the smaller cot, he turned his gaze towards me. With a view to take leave I got up and bowed down to him when he asked me to my surprise, 'Do you know wrestling, my boy? Can you wrestle with me? Let us try a chance.' Saying this the Master stood erect on the floor and challenged me. My body was then very strong and looked like that of a wrestler. Hearing his words, my surprise knew no bounds and I began to think. 'Well, what kind of a Sadhu have I come to see? He wants to wrestle with me!' On the other hand, the Master was standing and marking time in the pose of a wrestler and smiling mildly. Gradually he approached me and holding my hands tried to push me backward. But how could he cope with me? Easily I pushed him to a corner and pressed him there. The Master was still smiling and holding my hands in a wrestler's fashion. But I felt an electric force entered into me through the Master's

hands. Hairs of my body stood on end and I was overpowered.

"After sometime he released my hands and smilingly said: 'So, you have defeated me?' Saying this he took his seat on the smaller cot as before but I could not find any reply to his words. I perceived in my heart of hearts an indescribable bliss. It was revealed to me that though I had defeated him with physical force, he had subdued me with spiritual power. In that stupified condition, he came to me and patted me saying, 'Come here now and then. What can you gain by coming once only?' Then he gave me some *prasad* to eat. I took leave of him for the day and returned to Calcutta. But ere long I realized that the Master transformed my life for good and transmitted spiritual power to me."

Exactly similar experience is recorded by Swami Vivekananda when he was first touched by the Master.

## DASARA IN TAMIL NAD

Tamil Nad's individuality in celebrating the Dasara is striking, observes *Free India* in its sumptuous Dasara number which is replete with articles and pictures of topical interest. With its households sparkling with *Kolus* and its temples resounding with poojas and festivals, South India is aglow with life.

During this season, every middle and upper-class Hindu home becomes the centre of social gatherings, the *Kolu* providing both a bait and an excuse for them. The *Kolu* is a miniature art exhibition. It attracts women and children who sing, dance and chatter to their heart's content. It provides an opportunity for the children to conduct a sort of fancy-dress competition while out to invite friends, and gives an occasion for our ladies to go out in gay colours.

The temples still maintain an atmosphere of austerity. The elaborate poojas, the grand processions, and the recitals from the sacred scriptures attract people of different levels of striving and seriousness.

# INDIAN STATES

## Hyderabad

### DELHI-HYDERABAD PACT

A Standstill Agreement between India and Hyderabad has been signed in Delhi. Announcing this in the Dominion Assembly on November 29 Sardar Patel said the agreement was the same as the one negotiated with the old Hyderabad delegation.

Sardar Patel, who placed the terms of the agreement on the table of the House, said it continues the position as it existed before August 15, 1947, barring Paramountcy.

The letters exchanged between the Nizam and Earl Mountbatten prior to the signing of the Agreement have also been released.

### INTERIM GOVERNMENT FOR HYDERABAD

The Nizam through a firman has been pleased to appoint Mir Laik Ali, Prime Minister for one year. The present Council of Ministers has been dissolved and the new Prime Minister has been commanded to form an Interim Government consisting of four nominated members, four Muslim and four Hindu members including two popular Ministers in the present Government.

### MIR LAIQ ALI: THE NEW PRIMER

Mir Laik ali, a leading industrialist of Hyderabad, has been appointed Prime Minister of Hyderabad.

Mir Laik Ali, who is the Managing Director of the Hyderabad Construction Company, was a member of the Hyderabad Industrial Delegation to the United Kingdom and U.S.A. last year, and of the Pakistan Delegation to the U.N.O. He recently returned to India.

### CONGRESS LEADERS RELEASED

In accordance with the decision of the Government to release all political prisoners and detainees except those convicted of grave offences with a view to create the right atmosphere to enable the formation of an Interim Government jail-delivery has been ordered by the Hyderabad Government.

## Mysore

### REFORMS FOR MYSORE

The Government of Mysore, it is learnt, have come to a final decision in regard to the setting up of a Constituent Assembly to draft the future constitution of Mysore. A meeting of the Council of Ministers was held at the Secretariat, Bangalore on November 25 Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar presiding, when a decision in this connection, it is learnt, was taken.

### SUPPORT TO NEHRU GOVERNMENT

A Press *Communique* issued by the Mysore Government on November 24 says: "The Government of Mysore are most anxious to do every thing in their power to assist the Government of India and would welcome launching a State-wide campaign for the collection of cash contributions, gifts in kind, warm clothing and blankets and other materials for the benefit of refugees. The Government have also ordered the opening of a new head of account in all State Treasuries as well as branches of the Bank of Mysore for receiving cash contributions from the public."

The Mysore Government have already offered to settle 5,000 refugees as agriculturists in Shimoga district.

## Junagadh

### INDIA TAKES OVER JUNGADH

Indian troops have entered Junagadh and taken over the administration. This action followed a request to the Government of India by the Dewan of the State that the position in the State was serious and that the Government of India should take over. It is believed that the Nawab of Junagadh who is now in Karachi has agreed to this step.

Indian troops have received a great welcome from the people of the State and there have been no incidents. It is stated that the first thing the troops found was that the State treasury was empty. Arrangements were made to fly currency and coins to the State by the Government of India.

## Baroda

### WALK-OUT FROM ASSEMBLY

All members of the Baroda State Praja-mandal Party, except Mr Chotabhai J. Sutaria, Minister in the State Executive Council, walked out of the State Legislative Assembly on Nov. 3 as a protest against the ruling of the President annulling the reading of a statement by Mr. Ramchandra Amin, Leader of the Party.

The President, Mr S A Sudhalkar, Dewan of Baroda, said that due notice had not been given of the contents of the statement, and that he wanted time to study it before it was read in the House.

The statement, it is believed sought to protest against the refusal by the House to admit some 'important resolutions tabled by the members of the Party emphasising the immediate need of certain constitutional changes in the State administration'.

The members of the Praja Mandal Party in the Assembly, who walked out have decided, it is learnt, not to be present in the House for the whole session, "unless such developments take place in the meanwhile as would enable them to change their decision".

The Assembly consists of 59 seats, of which 31 belong to the Praja Mandal.

### BARODA RULER TO MEET PATEL

The Maharaja of Baroda, will fly to New Delhi on December 2 it is learnt.

According to reports current at Baroda His Highness is expected to meet in Delhi Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Minister for States, and discuss the relation of Junagadh State with Baroda in the new set up. The annual tributes which Junagadh was paying to Baroda through the States Agency and certain territorial rights and concessions which Baroda enjoyed in Junagadh State will be some of the points on which clarification may be sought.

## Travancore

### NEW CONSTITUTION OF TRAVANCORE

The strength of the Representative Assembly, which is to decide upon the future constitution of the State, has been fixed at 120 elected members by the Reforms Committee, whose report has been submitted to the Government and accepted by them.

For the purpose of election, the whole State has been divided into 80 constituencies, 49 of which are single-member ones and the remaining 31 multi-member constituencies, consisting of from three or two members, as the case may be, and providing for reservation of seats.

The total number of adults in the State is in the neighbourhood of 29½ lakhs and, subject to certain disqualifications, they are entitled to vote. The disqualifications specified by the Reforms Committee include not being a Travancorean, being under 25 years of age, being an undischarged insolvent, being of unsound mind and holding an office of profit under the Government or local authority.

The electoral rolls are being printed at the various presses in the State, both Government and private, and the work is expected to be completed shortly.

## Patna

### PATNA RULER'S PROCLAMATION

The Ruler of Patna State has shown the way to his brother Princes by issuing a Proclamation that complete Self-Government would be granted to his people by April 1948. Orders have been issued to set up a Legislature which will also act as a Constitution-making body. Except the usual subjects like the civil list and the preservation of the Ruling dynasty etc, no subject has been reserved. This grant of full responsible government without any struggle is much appreciated by the people.

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**Kashmir****PANDIT NEHRU ON KASHMIR  
AFFAIR**

"I am completely convinced that every action that the Government of India has taken in regard to Kashmir has been straight and above board, and I can defend it at any time before the world," declared Pandit Nehru in a statement in the Union Assembly on November 25.

Pandit Nehru said: "We have sufficient evidence in our possession to demonstrate that the whole business of Kashmir raids, both in Jammu Province and in Kashmir proper, was deliberately organised by high officials of the Pakistan Government. They helped tribesmen and ex-servicemen to collect, they supplied them with the implements of war with lorries, with petrol and with officers. They are continuing to do so. Indeed, their high officials openly declared so."

Pandit Nehru added: "It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the raids in Kashmir were carefully planned and well-organised by the Pakistan authorities with the deliberate object of seizing the State by force and then declaring its accession to Pakistan. This was an act of hostility not only to Kashmir but to the Indian Union."

**Cochin****PERMIT FOR WINE FOR RELIGIOUS  
PURPOSES**

Cochin Government have authorised the Commissioner of Excise to issue permit for possession of wine required by heads of Jewish families for religious worship, says a Gazette notification. The wine that may be possessed under authority, can be obtained from places outside the areas in which the Cochin Prohibition Act is in force, adds the notification. The notification makes it clear that neither their authority nor liquor covered by it should be permitted to be abused by anyone.

**Manipur****RESPONSIBLE GOVT. FOR MANIPUR**

The India Dominion Agent in Manipur State, Mr. Debeswar Sarma, in a statement says the people of Manipur would get responsible Government not later than June 1 next year.

He has the permission of H. E. the Governor of Assam, Sir Akbâr Hydari, to say this.

In view of this, he asks the people to suspend the Civil Disobedience movement, for some time at any rate, and organise constructive work.

Referring to the accession of Manipur to the Indian Union the Governor said an Agreement has been reached between the State and the Indian Union, and one of its terms was that the introduction of Constitutional reforms should be expedited. With that end in view a Constitution-making Committee composed of elected representatives of the Congress and members representing the tribal areas was set up. The Committee would draft a Constitution as early as possible, and for that purpose, a year's time-limit from July 1, 1947 was set.

**Patiala****PATIALA RULER'S APPEAL TO  
PEOPLE**

The Maharaja of Patiala, speaking at a reception at Amritsar on November 28, said that it was their duty to strengthen the hands of the Indian Government by lending them all possible support. He regretted that he had not been able to do all that he wanted to do for his people. The Maharaja asked the Hindus and the Sikhs to help the Government in raising the prestige of their country in the eyes of other nations of the world.

The Maharaja inspected a guard of honour presented by volunteers of Sheri-Punjab Dal and the Punjab Border Guard.

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

:0:

## South Africa

### INDO-S. A. ISSUE IN U.N.A.

The Indian resolution on the treatment of Indians in South Africa was carried by 29 votes to 16 with five abstentions in the Political Committee of U.N.O. The resolution fell short of two-thirds majority which would be necessary in the General Assembly.

In the voting on clauses of the Indian resolution, the operative clause requesting round-table discussions on the bases of last year's General Assembly resolution was accepted by 28 votes to 14 with seven abstentions.

The Columbia resolution calling for the establishment of a sub-committee to study ways and means of breaking the deadlock between India and South Africa was rejected by 26 votes to 13 with eight abstentions. The Norwegian resolution calling on both South Africa and India immediately to suspend all retaliatory actions was rejected by 27 votes to eight with 12 abstentions.

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, speaking for the second time on the India-South Africa dispute, told the Political Committee: "We have not the least desire to foster or perpetuate any kind of misunderstanding with any country and in bringing this question before the U.N.O. we are not actuated by any animosity against S.A."

The Indian resolution on the treatment of Indians in South Africa obtained 31 votes in its favour in the United Nations General Assembly, on Thursday the 20th November, but failed to obtain the two-thirds majority required for passing. Nineteen countries voted against the resolution.

Soon after the voting, it was announced, to the surprise of the members, that Mrs. Pandit had presented a new draft resolution on the subject. The resolution was, however, later withdrawn because of procedural difficulties.

## Fiji

### INDIANS IN FIJI

When the late Dinbhandur C. F. Andrews was agitating thirty years ago for the abolition of the indentured labour system in Fiji, there were good and adequate reasons for such agitation, observes a special correspondent to the press. When, in 1936, Mr. Andrews re-visited Fiji, he was both surprised and gratified to observe great changes for the better in the lot of the Indian colonists in Fiji. That all-round improvement has continued.

So healthy is the climate that the Indian population has doubled in the past twenty years and now exceeds that of the Fijian natives. There is no malaria, and cholera, bubonic plague and small-pox are unknown. Government Hospitals and Dispensaries are within reach, and some well-qualified Indian doctors are engaged in private practice in different centres. The standard of living has risen noticeably during the past twenty years.

## Malaya

### INDIANS IN MALAYA

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said in reply to a question in the Central Assembly that suitable representations had recently been made to His Majesty's Government on the constitutional proposals for the Federation of Malaya. These were intended to secure representation of the Indian community on the Federal Executive Council and to facilitate their admission to Malayan citizenship. Under the constitutional proposals, all Malayan citizens would be treated equally and would have the same rights.

## Ceylon

### INDO-CEYLON TALKS

Pandit Nehru, in reply to Mr. M. S. Aney, said in the Assembly that the Prime Minister of Ceylon had expressed to the Indian Representative in Ceylon his desire to come to India for discussion with the Government of India at the end of this year. The Government of India would welcome his visit.

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

## Questions of Importance

### A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

The All India Congress Committee concluded its three day Session at Delhi on Nov. 17 after unanimously electing Dr Rajendra Prasad as President of the Congress in place of Acharya J. B. Kripalani who had resigned.

Acharya Kripalani, in a statement to the Committee said that his decision to resign was irrevocable and that the House should proceed to elect a new President.

The Committee also passed the resolution defining the Congress objective with the attainment of political independence, namely, the establishment of real democracy in the country and a society based on social justice and equality. The resolution was moved by Mr. Shanker Rao Deo.

Other important resolutions adopted by the Committee related to the problems of the refugees, Indian States, "Private Armies" and "communal organisations."

The resolution on States which was moved by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya urged the Princes to democratize their administrations and said that the Congress could not uphold the Princes "unless they are demonstrably in favour of regarding the voice of the people as the supreme law."

The resolution on "private armies" said that such a development was dangerous for the safety of the State and for the growth of the corporate life in the nation. The State alone should have its defence force or the police or home guards.

The Committee also passed by an overwhelming majority, the resolution moved by Mr. S. K. Patil urging the Central and Provincial Governments to give immediate consideration to the problem of decontrol.

### INDIA'S SOVEREIGN LEGISLATURE

The first meeting of India's sovereign legislature, the Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative), opened in the old Central Assembly Chamber with Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Assembly, in the chair.

The House elected S. G. V. Mavlankar, President of the old Central Assembly, as Speaker.

The following Bills were introduced: Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's Bill to amend the Foreigners Act 1946, S. J. Jagan Ram's Bill to provide for regulating the employment of dock workers, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee's Bill further to amend the Indian Patents and Designs (Extension of Time) Act 1942.

### REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES

A little over 20 lakhs of Hindu and Sikh refugees have been evacuated from West Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province by the Military Evacuee Organisation between September 4 and November 11 and, prior to Sept. 4, about 18 lakhs of people had arrived in India. These figures were given by Mr. K. C. Neogy, Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation.

He also stated that about 19 lakhs of Muslims had been evacuated to Pakistan from East Punjab and East Punjab States between September 4 and November 11.

### CONGRESS PARTY CONVENTION

The Congress Party in the India Legislative Assembly has decided to establish a convention that members of Provincial Legislatures should not function as members of the Dominion Legislature. They can, however, participate in the Constituent Assembly.

# Utterances of the Day

## ACHARYA KRIPALANI'S SPEECH

Mr. Kripalani, the Congress President, in his speech at the AIGC session at Delhi reviewed the events in the country with particular reference to Pakistan and expressed a strong belief that the only way to avoid the ghastly tragedy of a war between India and Pakistan was to make India strong. He condemned the policy of Pakistan which, he asserted,

"with its creed of Islamic exclusiveness; its cult of communal hatred and its practice of terrorism and treachery is an exact replica of German Nazis".

Mr. Kripalani expressed dissatisfaction with the present relation of the Congress Executive with the Government at the Centre and asked how was the Congress to give to the Government its active and enlightened co-operation unless its highest executive or "at least its popularly chosen head is taken into full confidence on important matters that affect the nation?" The need for such co-operation, he said, was recognised in theory but he found it missing in practice.

## NEHRU'S ASSURANCE TO KASHMIR

The Government of India were prepared, when peace and order were restored in Kashmir, to hold a referendum under international auspices like that of the United Nations to decide the future of the State, declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, broadcasting from All-India Radio on Sunday, 2nd November.

"We have a right to ask the Pakistan Government how and why the raiders who were fully armed and well trained could come across the Frontier Province or West Punjab and how they have been armed so effectively", said Pandit Nehru. "Are the Pakistan Government too weak to prevent armies marching across territories to invade another country or are they willing that this should happen? There is no third alternative," he added.

The Prime Minister also emphasised that we have given our word to the people of Kashmir to protect them against the invader and we shall keep our pledge.

## PATEL'S WARNING TO PAKISTAN

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, in his public address at Junagadh on November 13 made it clear that the problem of Hyderabad was the affair of India, and India alone. Pakistan had no right to meddle in it and stressed that,

after all Pakistan was their neighbour and one did not pick up quarrels with one's neighbour. They agreed to Pakistan in the spirit in which two brothers agreed to divide their joint property so that each would follow his independent existence in peace, security and prosperity. They (Pakistan) felt that they would make of it a heaven on earth but very soon hell had been let loose. They perhaps well felt that faced with critical problems India would not be able to deal with the inroads on her integrity and on her security. The process of infiltration started with Rampur. There it was suppressed and eliminated. Junagadh was the next target. They had seen the result. In Kashmir they followed even worse tactics. They raised communal passions amongst tribesmen, equipped them and asked them to effect a *coup d'état*. The result was plunder, rapine, loot, massacre, destruction of life and property and atrocities on women. The erstwhile happy valley had tasted the bitter experience of liberation by Pakistan. But our troops had cleared most of the valley of the invaders and, God willing, they would completely eliminate them. Meanwhile one heard rumblings in far off Tipura. "I should like to warn the authorities," Sardar Patel said, "who are indulging in these manoeuvres that they should not be under any delusion that India's troubles have in any way undermined her strength. We have resources to meet a challenge from whatever quarter it might come."

## GANDHIJI'S BROADCAST

"I am not one of those who believe that you who have left your lands and homes in Pakistan have been uprooted from there for all time. Nor do I believe that such will be the case with the thousands of Muslims who have been obliged to leave India," said Mahatma Gandhi in a broadcast addressed to the refugees at Kurukshetra camp on November 10.

Gandhiji said:

I for one shall not rest content until I will do all that lies in my power to see that all are reinstated and are able to return with honour and safety from where they have been driven out. I shall continue as long as I live to work for this end.

## PANDIT PANT'S WARNING

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Premier of U. P., during the debate on the U. P. Maintenance of Public Order (Amendment) Bill, 1947 in the U. P. Legislative Assembly wanted the League Opposition "to desist from its old tactics of levelling baseless accusations against the Government and the majority community in the interest of maintenance of peace in this country." He asked them to liquidate the Muslim League because "it is the root cause of all communal troubles." He said:

Without the goodwill of the majority community no Government can save minorities. The goodwill of the majority community is the ultimate safeguard for the minorities. You cannot create that goodwill by paying lip homage to the work of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while circulating baseless stories about attempts by the majority community and the Government to crush the Muslim minority in this province.

The slogans of gross injustice to Muslims cannot restore confidence among the two communities. Muslims are already in great panic and such slogans cannot raise their moral.

He declared that the root cause of all communal trouble in the country was the "Muslim League" which had sown the seeds of perpetual discord and hatred.

I want the Muslim League to be liquidated. If a secular democratic State is to be established communal organisations cannot be tolerated. The country needs at present only national organisations which can eliminate communalism from the mind of the people.

He continued:

Peace cannot be restored unless there is a psychological basis for it. The Muslim Leaguers should leave thinking in terms of Hindus and Muslims. To accuse the majority community of crushing the Muslim minorities every now and then breeds communal hatred.

## SELF-SUFFICIENCY FOR PROVINCES

Addressing the Food Ministers' Conference which met in New Delhi recently Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, Finance Minister, warned the Provincial Governments against raising the procurement price of foodgrains. Even a rise of one rupee per maund, he said, would involve an additional

expenditure of Rs. 35 crores. The Minister added that provinces should not, as far as possible, rely on the Central Government for supply, but should make their respective areas self-sufficient.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Minister, who also addressed the Conference, said that it would be unwise for India to depend on imports from abroad, because it would increase the food bill. It was necessary, he said, that they should devise their food policy in a manner which would meet India's present circumstances and her financial position.

## PROF MAJID KHAN'S APPEAL

Prof. Abdul Majid Khan, Punjab Nationalist Muslim leader, in a recent statement called upon Muslim Leaguers to "liquidate the Muslim League of their own accord and join *en bloc* without any mental reservations the Indian National Congress which stands for political and economic justice." He also urged them to "discard for ever the poisonous theory of two nations" and to "surrender all unlicensed arms which are in their possession."

It was the well-considered view of Nationalist leaders, Mr. Majid Khan said, that separate electorates could not but lead to the cry of separate nations. Leading contemporary historians correctly held that the division of electorates into communal constituencies was in reality an imperialistic decree and not at all a minority safeguard.

The atrocious theory of two nations was advanced as a cloak to hide the nefarious power politics of a clique of opportunists and careerists. The main idea was to put forward an impossible demand in terms as vague as possible. That, crazy claim has been conceded somehow and an inauspicious surgical operation of the country has been performed to the grave detriment of all concerned.

After the tragic partition of the country, the pivotal point to be considered was the allegiance of the minorities. No modern State could tolerate the existence of a minority which owed dual allegiance—nominal, to the State in which it lived and real, to another Government. Therefore, those Muslim Leaguers who are still in India should either immediately migrate to Pakistan or give a clear indication of their unswerving loyalty to the Indian Union.



# Educational

## SIR JOHN SARGENT ON RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

Sir John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India emphasised the importance of research conducted on the motto of 'investigation and ethics' for the development of the country, while speaking at the Madras University on November 3.

They were approaching, he said, an age of such terrific potential power discoveries that it was possible for even a non-scientist to wonder whether one step forward in the discoveries of such destruction might not mean the complete end of civilization.

Stressing the need to give a free hand to scientists, Sir John said that it was the inherent character of the human mind to have its requisite freedom and therefore, no limit should be put on the possibility of the enquiring mind.

He added: 'I feel that all people engaged in research, in whatever institutions, must be guided by the motto of famous educational institutions, that investigation and ethics must be kept side by side.'

'He was glad to note that in spite of the unparalleled problems and complex situation facing them at the present time, the Government of India was genuinely interested in promoting higher research in the country by every means in their power.

## EAST PUNJAB UNIVERSITY

An East Punjab University has been created with its headquarters temporarily at Simla. Those students who have been displaced due to partition would now be absorbed in the newly created university. Besides, the East Punjab University is the only one so far which has the picturesque setting in its location. It would be a good thing if Simla were to become the permanent location of this university. The creation of this university brings the number of the Indian universities to eighteen.

## S.S.L.C BOARD'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Presiding over a meeting of the Provincial Advisory Board of Education, Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam, Minister for Education, gave an outline of the reorganisation of secondary education in the Madras province.

The salient feature of the new scheme is the bifurcation of courses at the post-third form stage into academic and non-academic courses. In the latter will be included technical and professional courses of study. Regional languages will henceforward occupy a position of paramount importance. Examinations will be less of a bugbear to students. Optional subjects, the study of which is generally repeated in college classes will be abolished. Great importance would be attached to the task of evolving a right type of physical education and elementary military training

## SEPARATE UNIVERSITY FOR POONA

A Bill published by the Bombay Government for the establishment of a new independent University for Poona marks the beginning of the Government's policy of decentralisation of University education in the Province. The Jayakar Committee which went into the question of a separate University for Maharashtra submitted its recommendations to the Government and a Committee of educationists was later appointed to draft a Bill, amongst other things, for the establishment of the Poona University on the basis of the Jayakar Committee recommendations.

The present Bill has been drafted after taking into account this committee's draft Bill.

## NEW CHAIR FOR HISTORY

H. H. Maharaja Padam Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, Maharaja of Nepal, has endowed a lectureship in Asiatic History in the Allahabad University. The Maharaja has promised to contribute Rs. 6,000 yearly for the expenses of maintaining the chair.

## PATEL ON THE NEW PRESS BILL

Several newspapers have sprung up, controlled by irresponsible people, who hardly realise their responsibility for the consequences of the matter they have been publishing, generally leading to fomentation of communal strife, said Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister, in the India Legislative Assembly on November 19 justifying the Bill to continue certain special powers in the Chief Commissioner's Provinces for the better control of the dissemination of undesirable matter.

He was of the view that "In this country, where we have a secular State, where communities with different religions and sects have been residing for centuries, we have a sacred responsibility to see that the gulf between the communities is not widened.

The Deputy Prime Minister also stressed the need in the changed circumstances to establish traditions and create conditions of harmony, unity, and peace.

The House passed the first reading of the Bill.

## HAUL OF ILLEGAL ARMS IN U.P.

What is believed to be the biggest haul of illegal arms in the United Provinces was made when one parcel of arms weighing several maunds was seized at Moradabad railway station on November 19

The parcel, which originated from Rampur State, when opened, was found to contain several thousand daggers and knives of different sizes.

Twenty-five daggers, 25 knives, a large number of empty revolvers, bullets, a considerable quantity of engineering implements and other railway property and various types of deadly weapons were seized on November 21 by the district Intelligence staff and the Railway Police at Moghalsrai, as a result of searches carried out in Pakistan-bound goods wagons.

The goods belonged to the Muslim employees of the Moghalsrai loco workshop who have opted for Pakistan.

## NEW FEDERAL COURT JUDGE

Well merited tributes were paid by members of the Bench and the Bar to Mr. Justice M. Patanjali Sastri on his elevation to the Federal Court, at a public meeting held at Madras, under the auspices of the Lakshmiapuram Young Men's Association. There was a distinguished gathering. Sir S. Varadachariar presided.

Sir S. Varadachariar said that on that occasion he felt that they should shake off their provincialism and feel that a person of merit had been chosen. As things now stood, Mr. Patanjali Sastri might not have in the Federal Court much hard work, but he might not suffer from that inconvenience for a long time because they all hoped that very soon the Federal Court would be converted into the Supreme Court of India and, if the work of the Privy Council was transferred to that Court, there would be more than enough work for the judges. This would give the opportunity for Mr. Patanjali Sastri to leave his imprint on the work and it was in that hope that he was looking forward for a very useful career for Mr. Patanjali Sastri.

Mr. Justice Horwill said that Mr. Patanjali Sastri's great knowledge of law and intellectual acumen might be taken for granted. Justice Horwill said that the appointment was great honour to the Madras High Court and to the Madras Bar.

## WARRANTS OF PAKISTAN COURTS

The acting Chief Justice of Bombay Mr. M. Chagla, and Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar have issued a ruling that courts in the Indian Dominion cannot execute a warrant of arrest issued by a court in any foreign territory, (in this case, a Lahore court) unless there are proper extradition proceedings.

The question arose out of an appeal by a landlord of Lahore, A. G. Botwala, who was wanted by a Lahore court to answer a charge of cheating in that territory.

# Insurance

## SICKNESS INSURANCE FOR WORKERS

The Central Legislature, on Nov. 20 took up for consideration the Labour Minister's motion to refer to a Select Committee the Workmen's State Insurance Bill aimed at giving certain benefits to workmen employed in factories in case of sickness, maternity and accident.

The insurance envisaged under the Bill is one of compulsory State insurance for workers in factories other than seasonal workers. For the purpose of administering the scheme, a Workmen's State Insurance Corporation is sought to be created with the help of employers and workmen. Workmen earning less than As 10 a day would be totally exempt from payment of any share of the contribution, the entire contribution on account of such persons being met by the employer. The insured workman would be entitled to the following benefits.

(a) Sickness cash benefit: If certified sick and incapable of working, a workman will receive for a period not exceeding eight weeks in any continuous twelve months a cash allowance equal approximately to half his average daily wages during the previous six months, besides medical care and treatment.

(b) Maternity benefit: Women workers would be entitled to receive maternity benefit at As 12 a day for twelve weeks, besides medical aid.

(c) Disablement and dependents' benefits: Workmen disabled by employment injury would receive for the period of disablement of life a monthly pension equivalent to half his average wages during the previous twelve months subject to a maximum or minimum. In case of death resulting from employment injury, the pension would be payable to the widow or minor sons and minor and unmarried daughters.

The Labour Minister was congratulated on his sympathy and vision in dealing with problems of benefits to workers by all the speakers who followed him.

## INSURANCE AGAINST RIOTS

The Governor-General of Pakistan has promulgated an ordinance to provide for the insurance of certain property against riot and civil commotion risks.

The ordinance called the Riot and Civil Commotion Risks Insurance Ordinance 1947, extends to the whole of Pakistan and the Governor-General may by a notification in the official gazette, apply to the whole Dominion or any part thereof from any notified date.

With immediate effect it will apply to cotton ginning and pressing factories and textile mills in West Punjab and Sind.

Every factory building and other movable or immovable property described in a schedule shall be deemed to be property insurable under this ordinance which may be amended from time to time.

## CAREERS IN BRITISH INSURANCE

The recent presidential address delivered at the Insurance Institute of London by Mr. J. W. Berry, general manager of the Royal Insurance Company, was largely directed to the prospects for young men of careers in British insurance. The opportunities both at home and abroad, he suggested, were quite bright, provided those who entered the industry had a sound education, were willing to work hard and learn by experience, were enterprising, and enjoyed reasonably good health. Among the reasons which induced the president to be cheerful about the outlook were that British insurance did not depend on supplies of raw materials from overseas, that no elaborate or extensive manufacturing premises were required, and that the industry was not largely dependant on power, transport, or shipping space. The demand for insurance both at home and abroad was increasing; yet insurance was never likely to be in short supply and an expansion of business in one area did not mean scarcity elsewhere.

## FREE INDIA'S FIRST BUDGET

The first Budget of free India was presented to India's Constituent Assembly (Legislative) on Wednesday the 26th November by Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, the Finance Minister. The Budgetary position covers the period from August 15, to March 31, 1948.

Sir Shanmukham described the revenue position as sound. "We have not been living beyond our means, or heading towards bankruptcy", he declared. There were no surprises.

Disclosing a deficit of Rs. 26.24 crores, owing to abnormal conditions the Finance Minister stated that he had no taxation proposals to meet it except a slight change in the export duty on cotton textiles, which would reduce the deficit to Rs. 24.59 crores.

The Finance Minister predicted a return to normal conditions by 1949-50, provided "we are able to reduce our defence expenditure to peace-time proportions and curtail our reliance upon import of foodgrains."

Pleading for more savings by the people to finance reconstruction schemes, the Finance Minister promised to undertake a review of taxation policy and "to make any adjustments that may be necessary to instil confidence in private enterprise."

## NO LOAN FOR PAKISTAN

The Finance Minister, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, replying to a question in the Indian Union Legislative Assembly on November 19, said that India had not given any loan to Pakistan. Pakistan had not asked for any loan. "They would not get it if they ask me." The Finance Member said he was not aware whether the Imperial Bank of India had given any loan to Pakistan Government but he did not think they had.

## EXPORT DUTY ON RAW JUTE

The Government of India are now examining what parallel measures they should take to protect the interests of the Indian Dominion in view of the "unilateral action" of the Pakistan Government in imposing a duty on raw jute exported from East Bengal to India, says a *communiqué*.

Any action taken would, however, be without prejudice to reconsideration, should there be any hope of arriving at an amicable and reasonably long-term settlement over the entire field of freedom of trade and commerce between the two Dominions, adds the *communiqué*.

## FINANCE CORPORATIONS

The Finance Minister, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetti, envisaged in the Indian Dominion Parliament on November 21 the creation of a series of Industrial Finance Corporations in the Provinces and States to assist small-scale, medium-scale, and cottage industries. He also stated that he envisaged the setting up of an Agricultural Finance Corporation, as well as a Reconstruction Finance Corporation for rehabilitation purposes.

Mr. Chetti was replying to criticisms of the proposed Industrial Finance Corporation Bill, which was referred to a Select Committee.

The general trend of the debate was in criticism of the scope of the Corporation, inadequacy of its funds, and the constitution of the Corporation.

The Constituent Assembly (Legislative) resumed discussion on the Finance Minister's motion for reference to a Select Committee of the Bill to establish an Industrial Finance Corporation of India. The motion was finally approved (adds the Associated Press of India).

## LADY RAMA RAU'S CALL TO WOMEN

Presiding over the two-day sessions of the Kolhapur State Women's Conference Lady Rama Rau called upon women to come forward and help their brethren who had come into India from Pakistan.

Lady Rama Rau stressed the need for paid social workers and said that Indian women had a large field for work before them, Doctors, nurses, teachers and a host of other workers were needed for national reconstruction.

Concluding, Lady Rama Rau warned women to be prepared for any emergency, including conscription for national service.

Inaugurating the Conference, Mrs Mamal Wagle of Bombay called upon the women of Kolhapur to emulate the example of Mysore women who had fought shoulder to shoulder with men in the recent fight for Responsible Government in the State.

## KARNATAK WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The 6th session of the Karnatak Provincial Conference of the All-India Women's Conference which commenced its session on Nov 17 concluded its deliberations after passing a number of resolutions on the political and social problems that are before India as a whole, and Karnatak in particular.

The only resolution which aroused lively debate at the plenary session of the conference was the one which demanded that "such of the parts of the Belgaum and Karwar districts as are predominantly Marathi-speaking, but which under the British regime were wrongly included in the Karnatak be joined to Maharashtra."

This resolution which was moved by Mrs. Ushadevi Muzumdar, Secretary of the Karwar District Mahila Mandal was supported by the presidents of the Belgaum and Karwar District Mahila Mandals and was opposed by Mrs. Umabai Kundapoor, a leading Congress worker of Karnatak. The resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority, only four voting against it.

By another resolution the conference while condemning the undemocratic, semi-fascist rule under the Portuguese and the unpopular colonial regime of the French in the French settlements declared their support to the people in all these regions and demanded that the principle of self-determination of these regions be held by a free plebiscite of the people concerned.

A third resolution urged the Government to start co-operative dairies and Government-managed dairies in regions like Karwar district where there is scarcity of milk.

## THE FRENCH WOMAN OF TO-DAY

An average church woman of 1947 drinks more than a man does and does not say her prayers and lives away from her husband, according to a group of French statisticians.

Their investigations show that she marries at 22, has two children and the average age at which she gets a divorce is 27.

Instead of saying prayers before going to bed, she goes through an exhaustive series of beauty treatments. Summing up the investigations, the experts say: "An average French woman tries to divide herself into four—mother, housekeeper, intelligent and politically-minded conversationalist and a pin-up girl. She succeeds."

## DIRECTORATE FOR WOMEN REFUGEES

The Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation has set up a women's section for the relief and rehabilitation of women and children. Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru and Shrimati Hannah Sen have been appointed Director and Secretary, respectively.

It began to function from Monday, November 24, 1947.

#### NOBEL PRIZE FOR ANDRE GIDE

The 1947 Nobel Prize for Literature has been awarded to the French writer, Andre Gide, the nephew of the famous French economist, Charles Gide. Andre Gide is a well-known essayist, novelist, poet and critic and one of the leaders of the symbolist movement in literature.

#### INDIAN WRITERS' CONFERENCE

"That in a world riven by conflict great literature worked as a uniting force; that to a fatigued and frustrated humanity, idealistic writings centring on the life of the Common Man acted as a vivifying elixir, and that the true writer is the eternal reconciler"; this was the triple theme of the addresses delivered and papers discussed at the second meeting of the All-India Writers' Conference which met in Kashi (Benares), on October 31 and dispersed on November 4 after a five-day session. The Conference was held under the auspices of the Indian Centre of P.E.N. (International) and was attended by nearly 100 delegates representing the Indian languages and five or six fraternal delegates representing foreign countries. The Conference was inaugurated and presided over by Shrimati Sarojini Naidu, the National President of the P.E.N.

#### WARNING TO NON-MUSLIM PRESS

Addressing a Press Conference at Karachi Mr. Khuhro, the Sind Premier, warned non-Muslim newspapers in the province that strong action would be taken against them if they continued to write editorials "savouring of complete disloyalty to Pakistan and looking to any outside Power for succour."

The Premier said that advocacy of re-union of India and Pakistan by newspapers was "an act of disloyalty to the State". He felt that the division of the country was "a complete and settled fact" and that newspapers should not indulge in such writings "much to the detriment of Pakistan, when feelings are running high."

#### MR. MAVLANKAR, SPEAKER OF ASSEMBLY

Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, who had been the President of the Central Assembly before its disappearance, was elected Speaker. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel led the newly-elected Speaker to the chair. There were a number of congratulatory speeches from all sections of the House, to which Mr. Mavlankar replied suitably.

#### MR. C. K. VIJAYARAGHAVAN, NEW I.G. OF POLICE

Mr. C. K. Vijayaraghavan, I.C.S., Commissioner of Civil Supplies, and third member of the Board of Revenue, has been appointed Inspector-General of Police, Madras.

Thus for the first time an Indian officer will hold this office, and it is the first occasion for many years, that the Government have decided to appoint a civilian, non-police officer as Chief of Police.

#### NEW HONOUR FOR LORD MOUNTBATTEN

A new honour was conferred on Earl Mountbatten of Burma, Governor-General of India, when the London 'Gazette' announced that the King had conferred a barony upon him. It will carry the title of Baron Romsey.

#### SIR SRI RAM

Sir Sri Ram has been appointed honorary Trade Adviser to the Ministry of Food to advise it on its purchases of foodgrains from abroad, prices to be paid and other connected matter, says a Press Note.

#### DR. SYED HOSSAIN

The Egyptian Government have intimated the Government of India that Dr. Syed Hossain will be acceptable as India's Ambassador to Egypt.

The King's consent to the appointment has been received.

#### DR. B. C. ROY

Dr. B. C. Roy has written to the Prime Minister of India, intimating his inability to accept the Governorship of the United Provinces.

Revealing this in an interview on his return from Delhi, Dr. Roy added: "I have come back to my profession and it is too early to say what I do next."

## LONDON INTEREST IN INDIAN ART

Two Indians are stirring artistic London, says a Reuter report.—V. R. Rao, the portrait painter, and Rama Gopal, the dancer. Rao's best work—full-length and bust portraits of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru—has been exhibited at India House and the B.B.C. has featured it, with the artist, in its television programme.

The life size study of Gandhi, in dhoti and upper-cloth, striding across a sun-lit, dun-coloured courtyard, with eyes beaming through his metal-rimmed spectacles, is the portrait Indians living in Britain have presented to the Office of High Commissioner.

Mr. Ram Gopal, who began a week of dancing at Oxford Playhouse said, "I have come to England to show Indian dancing as it really should be done." He will not compromise, modernising or altering in any way. "He gives the authentic Indian dancing to authentic Indian music, played as it should be played, and, indeed can only be played, on vina, sitar and sarangi.

## RAJPUT ART

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Prime Minister, Jaipur, while presiding over the annual function of Fine Arts Society, Maharaja's College, Jaipur, said: "Now that the Rajputana University has come into existence, I hope that the art of Rajputana,—all forms of it—will become a subject of systematic study. Hitherto it has been the fashion to treat Rajputana art—its painting, architecture, sculpture, music etc., as a sort of appendage to Mughal art. This view is wholly incorrect. In painting for example Dr. Coomaraswamy has pointed out that there was an ancient, wholly indigenous, wholly Indian School—a Rajkot School—"related to the classic of Ajanta, as the Hindu language and literature are related to the older Prakrits and Sanskrit". Even in regard to the Mughal miniature paintings, attention has often been drawn to the number of Hindu painters that practised the art. The illustration of the Razmnama, which is the jewel of the Jaipur collection, was attributed to three leading Hindu artists."

## LORD WAVELL ON CRICKET

"Cricket on its inception on the village green was a reasonable enough game for Saturday afternoon, but it seems to me to have developed on extravagant lines, prodigal of time and effort out of all proportion to its importance", said Field Marshal Lord Wavell in what he called a "light-hearted" speech at Aberdeen on October 25.

The former Viceroy of India, who was being installed as Chancellor of Aberdeen University, said that the founder of Lords cricket ground and Dr. W. G. Grace must have caused waste of more man-power than most people. "One is on delicate ground in criticising cricket but perhaps I may venture to do so at this distance from Lords and the Oval.

"That 22 grown men (or 25 if the umpires and the Scorer are included) should spend three, four or even more days on a game and should go no doing so for months on end seems to an out-sider the height of absurdity", Lord Wavell said.

Lord Wavell did not spare football either. "Professional football now-a-days is an exhibition of skill before vast crowds, a greater proportion of whom are merely spectators and seldom or never play", he said, and added: "There could be little real team spirit in a side labelled with the name of a town which most of its picked players perhaps saw for the first time when purchased by a transfer fee."

## INDIAN OLYMPIC TEAM

Presiding over the prize distribution ceremony at the annual sports of St. Joseph's College, Trichy, Dr. P. Subbarayan, Home Minister, Madras Government, appealed to Indian athletes to follow the Americans and specialise in every department of the game so that they might compete successfully in the World Olympics next March in London.

Dr. Subbarayan revealed that the Government of India had agreed to provide funds for the Indian team to compete in the next Olympic Meet.

# NOBEL AWARD FOR PHYSICS

Sir Edward Appleton, 55-year-old head of the British Government's Scientific Research Department, has been awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics.

Sir Edward Appleton, Yorkshire-born son of a Bradford mill-worker, was connected with atomic research from an early stage and organized the British atom bomb team. His work on radio waves was fundamental in the development of radar.

He first predicted the possibility of getting radar echoes off the moon—since achieved by American and Australian scientists—and has considered the even more difficult proposition of making radar contact with the sun.

# CHEMISTRY PRIZE FOR BRITISH SCIENTIST

The Nobel Prize for Chemistry has been awarded to Sir Robert Robinson, British authority on the synthesis of natural compounds.

Sir Robert, who is of Oxford University, received the award for his investigations of biologically important plant products especially alkaloids. He is famous chiefly for his work on the structure and synthesis of natural products and especially those with a bearing on biological relationships. He was knighted in 1939 for his work on synthetics.

# DR. MEGHNAD SAHA

Dr. Meghnad Saha, President of the Post-Graduate Council of Science in the Calcutta University, is visiting Paris at the invitation of the French Academy to participate in an international conference on atomic energy research, to be held under the presidency of Prof. Einstein. Dr. Saha will also undertake a tour of European countries on behalf of the Government of India to get acquainted with the progress of atomic research in Europe.

# SCIENTIFIC FILM SOCIETY

A scientific film society, the first of its kind in India or Asia, has been formed in Bangalore. Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Director of Indian Institute of Science, is the president.

The objects of the society will be six-fold: (1) To promote interest in scientific films among scientists and to investigate means of application of scientific films for the benefit of human welfare in India; (2) To hold regular shows of scientific films; (3) To produce and distribute scientific films to scientific societies, universities, schools and other social and educational institutions; (4) To maintain a library of scientific films; (5) To maintain a panel of experts to advise and render technical assistance to scientists to produce their own films relating to their researches and any other subjects in which they are interested; and (6) to organise branches of the society in other important centres in India, and also to maintain and extend co-operation with other similar organisations in foreign countries.

# INFORMATION FILMS OF INDIA

The Government of India have decided to revive Information Films of India (including Indian News Parade), says a Press Note.

This was a Government organisation for the production and distribution in India and abroad of short Information Films and a weekly news-reel. This organisation which had come into being during the war was abolished in April, 1946. The position has since been reviewed and it is felt that the value of this medium of visual publicity in the furtherance of the constructive activities of Government particularly at the present juncture should not be lost. Preliminary work is well under way and it is hoped to commence exhibition of short films and news-reels at an early date.



## LUXURY CARS FOR THE UNITED STATES

Sir Stafford Cripps, Minister for Economic Affairs, accompanied by Mr. J. H. Wilson, President of the Board of Trade, gave a personal send-off recently to an unusual expedition organized by the Rolls-Royce Company.

Seven cars—four Rolls-Royces and three Bentleys, all fitted with luxurious bodies finished and equipped with impeccable taste—are to be shipped to the United States in charge of Mr. J. E. Scott, the sales manager, and will carry out a comprehensive tour to stimulate exports. Starting from New York, where the cars will be displayed in the Astor gallery of the Waldorf-Astoria hotel, the exhibition will move on to Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Paul, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Dallas, Palm Beach, Miami, and thence back to New York—a total distance of some 20,000 miles. The cars will be used for demonstrations at each centre, but they will be sent by rail or road truck from one to another.

Sir Stafford Cripps, who spent an hour examining the cars in detail, said that the Government wished to encourage the manufacture of such luxury cars for sale abroad. They were typically British, and their makers had not sought to ape American design; their distinctive character should have a great appeal in the United States.

## BAN ON SALE OF MOTOR VEHICLES

Following reports that a number of motor vehicles are being removed to Hyderabad from Bangalore the Government of Mysore, it is understood, proposes to ban the sale of motor vehicles in the State without the permission of Government. The current law prohibiting the removal of vehicles from the State without permission is also to be strictly enforced.

## FIRST INDIAN AIR VICE-MARSHAL

The first Indian Officer to attain the rank of Air Vice-Marshal in the Royal Indian Air Force is Air Commodore S. Mukerjee whose promotion has been announced by Air Headquarters, India.

Air Vice-Marshal Mukerjee is the most senior officer of the R.I.A.F., and was among the first Indian officers to attend the R.A.F. College, Cranwell, in 1930. Since August 15, 1947, Air Vice-Marshal Mukerjee has been Deputy Air Commodore of the R.I.A.F. as well as senior Air Staff Officer at Air Headquarters, India.

## NORMAL AIR SERVICES RESUMED

Dakota aircraft of the civil air lines which were commandeered by the Government of India "for work of national importance" are being released to their respective companies. This will enable fairly normal resumption of passenger services from various air centres.

The Government of India have retained "a small number" of Dakotas for official operations.

From Bombay, a number of air services resumed operating from the first week of November. Air India (Tata) have again commenced to operate two services to Delhi and two to Karachi, each way, from November 19. Mistry Airways have also resumed normal flights from November 20. Ambica Airlines and Air Services of India resumed their scheduled services.

## "AERIAL GATEWAY" OF INDIA

The first plane to bypass Karachi on a regular west to east service flight to India landed at the Santa Cruz aerodrome on the morning of November 7. It was a T. W. A. Skymaster plane, "Shalimar", which flew direct from Dahrn (Saudi Arabia) to Bombay, thus inaugurating a new schedule which will make Bombay the "Aerial Gateway" of India. The plane carried 34 passengers.

## DEVELOPMENT OF SHIPPING

Presiding over the Indian Shipping Conference held at Bombay on November 3. Mr. C. H. Bhabha, Commerce Minister, Government of India, announced a new six-point programme for the rapid expansion of Indian-owned tonnage and the development of Indian Mercantile Marine on sound, healthy and nationally acceptable lines.

The programme involved the setting of a new pattern of organisation in which the State would have an effective voice in the shaping of policy as well as in such major administrative decisions as may be necessary from time to time to give effect to this policy. It was proposed to set up two or three shipping corporations to each of which the Government should contribute not less than 51 per cent of the total capital to secure and retain control. Individual shipping companies or groups of companies would act as agents for the corporations whose optimum tonnage of operation would be ordinarily 100,000 tons. Details of the organisation would be worked out in consultation with shipping and allied mercantile interests.

## GOLDEN JUBILEE OF CURZON & CO

Messrs. Curzon and Company, the well-known furniture dealers of Madras, celebrated their Golden Jubilee in the third week of October last. From modest beginnings the firm has attained its present position under a succession of able men controlling the business.

In 1886, they moved to new showrooms in Mount Road, from George Town, when the name of the firm was changed to Messrs Wenlock and Company. In 1898, however, C. Alavandar Chetty came out of the partnership and began the firm of Curzon and Company.

From 1905 till 1909 the showrooms were considerably enlarged, and from 1911, when Mr. Alavandar Chetty died, various members of the family managed the firm until 1925, when Mr. C. Seshachalam assumed charge.

In 1935, the Curzon Saw Mills at Guindy were built, and in 1938, a branch of Curzon and Company was opened at Madura.

## HIRAKUD DAM PROJECT

The Government of Orissa, has in a letter to the Government of India, "accorded its administrative approval to the Hirakud Dam Project as out-lined in the report prepared by the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission."

The dam, which forms a part of the Mahanadi Valley development scheme, will be built at a total cost of Rs. 47.81 crores. The allocation of the estimated cost to different purposes will be: Flood Control: Rs. 6.11 crores Irrigation: Rs. 11.12 crores, Power: Rs. 29.58 crores and Navigation: Rs. 1.00 crores.

Accepting the estimates as laid down in the report, the Government of Orissa has proposed that, since this was the first project of its kind to be built in India, the financial estimates and fore-casts and allocations for different purposes should be subject to readjustment and periodic review.

## TRACTORS OUTPUT

The present world output of tractors estimated at 400,000 a year, is shortly to be raised to 500,000

In 1945, Britain's production of agricultural tractors amounted to 17,377 tractors of the four-wheeled type, 5,166 market garden machines and 675 track-layers. During the present year, the programme provides for an increase of about 30 per cent. The potential of the British tractor industry is likely to reach 100,000 a year before the end of 1947, and may be double that figure by 1950. Britain's tractor industry will, therefore, be in a good position to contribute to increased agricultural mechanisation in countries abroad.

## SCHEME TO SUBSIDISE SINKING OF WELLS

In connection with the new wells subsidy scheme, the Government of Madras have issued orders empowering Special Deputy Tahsildars to sanction subsidies up to Rs. 300 for wells in ordinary areas, and up to Rs. 500 in respect of wells in the Ceded Districts and other areas in which enhanced subsidies are sanctioned, and up to Rs. 500 for tanks, old or new, in the South Canara and the Malabar districts.

## TRADE UNION RIGHTS

The United Nations General Assembly in plenary session has endorsed the principles of 'Trade Union rights' proclaimed by the International Labour Organisation and decided to transmit them to the Commission on Human Rights for consideration of framing an International Bill of Human Rights.

## NON-POWER FACTORIES BILL

The Madras Non-Power Factories Bill, seeking to protect the interests of workers in all non-power factories employing 10 persons and more was passed in the Madras Legislative Assembly on Nov 5.

An attempt was made to get a minimum wages and provident fund provisions included, but they were ruled out of order. Several other amendments were defeated, and the Bill was passed into law.

## SHOPS AND ESTABLISHMENTS BILL

That all employees in shops and other establishments covered by the Act should have 12 days annual leave with pay, and 12 days leave with pay for absence because of sickness, and, in addition, 12 days casual leave on any reasonable ground, was the amended clause carried by the Madras Assembly on Mr. Alluri Satyanarayana Raju's amendment to clause 25 of the Madras Shops and Establishments Bill.

The amendment ran as follows:

Every person in any shop or establishment shall be entitled to, after 12 months of continuous service, to 15 days' privilege leave, of which not less than 10 days shall be consecutive holidays, 15 days' casual leave and 15 days' sick leave, all with pay.

## STRIKES HARM THE COUNTRY

Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee, Minister for Labour, West Bengal, and President of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, explaining the labour policy of the Congress in a statement said:

The Congress honestly believe that strikes in the majority of cases harm the country, industry and labourers, and as such, should be the last weapon to be employed, and that too, only when all other attempts to redress genuine grievances have failed.

## THE ROYAL WEDDING

The wedding of H. R. H Princess Elizabeth to Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten, newly created Duke of Edinburgh, was solemnised on Thursday the 20th November morning at Westminster Abbey before a distinguished gathering including many crowned heads of Europe and representatives of Governments from all over the world.

## SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB

Gorge Bernard Shaw has succeeded in his campaign to have the ashes of his old friends Lord and Lady Passfield reinterred in Westminster Abbey.

Shaw declared in a letter two weeks ago that the Passfields, better known as Sidney and Beatrice Webb, should be buried with the rest of Britain's famous dead as a national acknowledgement of their historical, political and public activities.

The Abbey authorities have accepted his plan.

Lady Passfield died on April 30, 1943 at the age of 85 and her husband aged 83 died on October 13, 1947. Their ashes are at present together in a glade at Passfield Corner.

## REFUGEES IN EAST PUNJAB

About twelve lakhs of persons have been settled on lands in East Punjab, it is officially learnt.

Out of the 38 lakhs of non-Muslim population of Pakistan, about 27 lakhs have already crossed the border into India. Eighteen lakhs of them consist of rural population out of which 14 lakhs are entitled for land allotment. Of these 14 lakhs, a little less than 12 lakhs have been settled on land and more than two lakhs are on the point of being settled.

## A NEW PORT IN WESTERN INDIA

The Government of India is considering a proposal to develop a first-class port on Kathiawar coast having all the modern facilities to serve the needs of Western India, formerly served by Karachi.





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